

A  
Souldiers VVishe to  
Britons welfare: or a Dis-  
*course, fit to be read of all Gentlemen*  
and Souldiers.

Written by a Captaine of experience.



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Soldiers' Visions

By Mrs. W. L. G. Stevens

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TO THE MOST WORTHY,  
the most vertuous and godly Prince *Henry*,  
by the grace of God, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of  
*Cornwell*, Earle of *Chester*, and heire appa-  
rant of the Realmes of *England*, *Scot-*  
*land*, *France* and *Ireland*.



OST worthy & most renowned Prince,  
there is nothing more pleasing to a spi-  
rit endued with knowledge, then *Truth*  
when she is most bare and naked.

The pure Corall needes no colour-  
ring, and a good cause it selfe bringeth  
credit, it needeth not the help of Art.

The deceitful Phisitian giueth plea-  
sant Syrropes, to make his poyson to goe downe the smoo-  
ther, and the sweet songs of *Calisto*, were but subtile snares  
to *Vlisses*.

An oylie mouth may haue a gaulding minde, and  
it seemeth vnto me, that these professors of Eloquence are  
to be suspected, and their straining of words and sentences  
(as it were to set them on the Teynter) doth shewe the little  
plaine dealing that is within them.

Yet I would not seeme to take the Penne out of his hand  
that doth write of Eloquence, for that were as if a man shuld  
labour to take the lightning from *Iupiter*, or to seeke to be-  
reave the fire of his heate.

And Art (I know) is the Pilot in the sea of wit: Art is the  
sword to conquere Ignorance: and Art is the sole directer  
when the worlde would erre. But yet to vse superflu-  
ous Eoquence, in a matter of sufficient excellency, is a grea-  
ter shew of a pregnant wit, then of a perfect wisdom.

Now sithens my abilitie serueth to no better purpose,  
then to set forth in this kind of writing those experiments  
which 40. yeares training in the warres hath taught me, I  
haue not vndertaken as a subtile Logitian, for I neuer lear-  
ned those places from whence arguments are drawne.

Those haue need of artificial speeches, who with pleasing  
words do go about to couer dishonest de eds.

The matters by me handled, I haue set downe plainly, I haue neither florished them with Art, nor smoothed them with Flattery.

I haue grused at abuse: yet vnder generalities, not aiming at any one particularly, that hath not a guiltie conscience to accuse himselfe, I haue winked at somewhat, least I might seeme curious, and haue pretermitted necessities, in that they require matter passing my reach: neither doe I seeke heerein the praise of mine owne wit, but to declare the loue I beare to my Countrie, and the dutifull zeale I tender, (and withal humblenes I here present) to your excellēt highnes.

If my vnlettered diligence be gratioously accepted, I neither feare the spightfull eye of Enuie, neither yet the censure of any others in those things, which I haue onely consecrated to your gratiuous vewe.

I acknowledge mine owne vnworthinesse, and I confesse my little skill and abilitie to performe, but it is a gratiuous acceptance, that encourageth me, for I assure my selfe, that a magnificent and princely minde cannot want in him that is descended from so magnificent and princely progenie: *Alexander* disdained not to be praised by a Miller, and your grace (I hope) will accept the simple gift of a souldier.

The subiect is not altogether vnecessary to be considered of, for it concerneth the affaires of warre, a knowledge behouefull for the greatest Monarch, when a King is not so much renowned for his crowne, as for his courage and skill in the knowledge of armes.

Eor although all the giftes of Fortune are to be despised in respect of learning, yet in a Prince, there is nothing so glorious as to be called a great Captaine, or a worthy souldier.

Accept them (gratiuous Prince) as the earnest penny of a faithfull heart, accept them and protect them from the malicious interpretour, accept them (with all humblenesse I beseech it) for his sake, that with all loue and dutie will daily pray, that as you are knowne to be descended from a most royall and princely progenie, and to be the vndoubted heire of your worthie fathers Crowne and Scepter, so you may growe in renowne & honour equall to your ancestors, & may succeed your royall parents in their vertues.

*Your Graces in all deuoted dutie and*





TO THE KINDE AND  
curteous Reader.



*Curteous Reader (if thou be curteous indeed) it is so much the better for me, for then I know my lines wil passe without reproofe: If thou be curious I care not, for Nature hath done much for me, she hath giuē me shoulders, though not with Atlas able to beare the heauens yet with Marcus Cato, able to endure any burthen that Titus Gracchius is able to load me with.*

*To auoid Idlenesse, I haue betaken me to write, and to make my selfe sociable with the multitude, I haue mingled matters of importance, with matters of small regarde: I know this is the humarous age, and although to reade ouer fewe things aduisedly, profiteth, yet to runne through many things (though slightly) delighteth, and a man that can but rattle of this and that (though to little purpose) shall haue audience.*

*I know some wil say, that he which wil aduenture to speake of many matters, may rather be tearmed venturous then learned: but I answere with that great Captain Marius, who speaking before the people of Rome, said, If my words be not wel set together, I care not: so long as I know my meaning to be good and honest.*

*Then*

To the kinde and curteous Reader.

Then let Maenius finde fault, and let Boldunus say, all in one to me, I will but turne the Buckle of my girdell a litle behind me, and then let any testmonger of them all, runne at me with his strongest inuention, and he shall neuer hit me, where he shall be able to hurt me.

I will wade no farther in mine owne praise, because I was neuer beholding to mine owne tongue: but as I know there are some that are too quicke of sight, so there be some others that wil winke if they see a fault: I reuerence him, and do wish with all my heart, that this second incounter betweene Captaine Skill and Captaine Pill, might be as pleasing vnto him, as I hope it wil be profitable to some others, that shall peruse & overlooke it, with aduised iudgment.

Barnabie Riche.

From W. Hallie This Booke  
By Ricke



## Captaine Skill,

give me leave to relate them as they shall hit into my memorie, and let me intreate your opinion what you allowe, and what you mislike.

Skill. Captaine Pill, the time that you tell me you have spent in the campe, hath not bene ill imployed, so that I perceive you have profited much: I see it hath inlightened your understanding to know your owne imperfections, and there cannot be a more learned ignorance, then for a man to confesse his owne ignorance: now for the Militia of these times which you say is so confounded with absurdities, I beleve it to be true, but he that should thinke to amend it by finding faulte, might do as Apelles pzentise, who drawing of a picture, seeking to mende the nose, marred the cheeke: you and I may talke of many abuses, as it were by the way of communication, but I dare not attribut any such singularity to my self as to give any censure, yet upon the request you have made, of any thing it shall like you to demande, I am contented to adventure my opinion, but not to set downe precepts.

Pill. Why then Captaine Skill I will proceede: but here now I should keepe a good Decorum, especially in Method, but that is looked for from Schoollers, and not from Soldiers, and I have learned the farther off from art, the more Soldierlike, then mount you by my thoughts, yet raise your selves with reverence, so as you neither do Minerva wrong, nor care what Momus can object.

Now before I speake of defects, I will first beginne with warre it selfe, that I thinke cannot be managed but with disorder, whose best fruites are so inuasions, that it hath bene had in question, and many times disputed on, whether warre may be appoyned to be either good or lawfull, before the seats and palettes of Gods.

Skill. I take those men that will move such doubts, to be utterly ignorant as well in the history of the Scriptures, as in the state of a happy Commonwealth, for he that taught David to sing, Blessed be the Lord my strength, which teacheth my hands to make warre, and my fingers to fight, had likewise taught Moyses long before to make warre upon the Egyptians, & that by an expresse commandement, and Abraham the father

father of the faithfull, made no scruple to enter into armes him-  
selfe and his household to recover his brother Lot.

Pill. But some will say the ruines and spoiles committed  
in the towres are to be lamented, and the cities that are sackt,  
spoyle, and left desolate, can be witnesses the fruit.

Skill. Soe Saul, first annointed King, appointed to leade  
the children of Israel, the spirit of God commeth vpon him, he  
prospereth amongst the heere, and after all this, behold him  
againe utterly forsaken of God, but soe reseruing a part of the  
prey that he had taken from the Amalichites.

Pill. But what excuse soe the great effusion of blood? or  
is it not a honour to thinke of the murders & slaughters made  
by men vpon men in the furie and heat of warre?

Skill. I will referre this to the noble Iosua, who being in  
the pursuite of his enemies, and fearing that the day had bene  
too short, commaunded the sunne to neglect his accustomed  
course, and to stay her selfe in the middle of the heauen, till he  
had performed his slaughter to the full.

Pill. Why then to spoile and kill an enemy we see the war-  
rant is god, but there be some that will make difficulties, and  
then they will distinguish betwene ambitious warre, & warre  
that is but defensive, and almost they will admit of no warre  
at all to be lawfull.

Skill. Warre is to be undertaken but to the end to haue  
peace, and soe matters in clayme, in defence of libertie, and  
such other like, aswell the lawes of nature as the lawes of na-  
tions doth admit it.

For these distinctions I will leaue them to Diuines, but  
warre is euermore attended on by Sword, Fire, Famine, and  
Further: the sinne of the people is it that giueth the first Al-  
larm, and busheatheth the soldiers sword, and warre hauing  
once displayed his Banner, it is the iustice of the cause that ap-  
proacheth it epter to be good or bad.

But yet the obtaining of a victorie is not a sure confirma-  
tion of this right & equity, for when the children of Israel were  
gathered together in Sile, to punish the shamefull sodometry of  
the tribe of Benjamin, they lost in two seuerall battells 40000.

men: notwithstanding they had a iust cause, and fought both the times by the appointment and commandement of God.

By wars to subone a sovraine foe, the conquest is gloriovs, but in ciuill warre there is nothing moze miserable then victorie.

The practise and knowledge of Armes, hath ener bene carefullly indououred in all ages, and in euery well governed Common-wealth, when by it Empires haue bene attained, Kingdomes enlarged, the straights of Pontus hath bene opened, and the inclosures of the Alpes broken vp.

By it Princes are protected, Justice is maintained, god lawes preserved, and the Common-wealth defended.

Great is the knowledge of Armes therefore, and there is nothing moze necessary, immediatly after the knowledge of God, then to knowe how to mannage our martiall causes, and as in euery action it is obious to erre, so in warres it is most daungerous of all other, because that one mistaking is enough to overthrowe a whole Armie, whetoeon might depend the wjacks of a Common-wealth, and the losse of a Princes Crowne.

Warre and the Soule communicates in this, that both of them are in their simple natures hardly found out, but are duly defined by their effects.

Nothing warreth young in this world but warre, neyther hath arte euer sought out a subiect moze ambiguous, so; with the Camelion it changeth according to the object, and like an impossible infinit in nature, carrieth his enents beyond the reache of coniecture.

In the heauens it worketh harmony, on the earth peace, it is the hand of deffery to infect change, the scourge of God to punish sinnes, the true aduancer that worketh courage vnto it, and a Bassilique to feare that open to behold it: It is ople in the stomacke that hath digested payson, as a mebetine to a body that is choaked vp with corrupt humours, as a fyre to the mettall that wants refining, as exercise to the body growne pusie with ybless, it is the Theater whetoeon Nobilitie was borne

boyme to shew himselfe, a glasse wherein policie espieth his infirmities, the worst and best that ever fortune could promise her fauourites.

The surts of peace first quickened it, and tyrany that gaue it sucke, perished in cherishing it.

It began in heauen, in the rebellion of Lucifer, it presumed vpon Paradise, betwene the first man, and the Angell, in Shinare ambition made Nymrod embrace it: Sodom affection caused Abraham to entertaine it: Sithens in the world it hath bene the Key of alterations, the disposer and spoyler of Monarchies, the founder of obscurities, the worker of miracles.

There is nothing so intire, that it hath not separated, neither so dissolved that it could not reconcile.

Vnto it, is as Castor and Pollax in a storme, a hope of safetie, warre vnto peace, as a motion to rest, the meanes to produce it.

It fauoureth not the multitude of men, but respects the valour, and suffers valour sometimes to perish in the armes of a fearefull multitude: it is the scourge of securitie, the plague of timorites, the end of hatreds, and the beginning of discontent.

It fauoureth iniustice, and oppresseth innocents, it strikes as God willes, workes as sinne warpes it: chiefly, a miserable necessitie in nature, and a necessary corrector of times infirmitie.

Pill. Why, then by this description and by the rest, what I haue noted, I perceiue that it is good to be a skillfull warriour, but it is againe to be a great warre louer. Well Menelanus, I may commend thy valour, but neuer thy wit, that wouldst make a continuance often yeares warre, but to recover a strumpet.

Skill. Ten yeeres war could not be continued but with ten yeeres woe, yet this blessednes of peace that is so much desired, both especially consist in the knowledge of warre.

Pill. Why, then the seates of warre are not to be neglected, though in the midst of the most happie peace.

**Skill.** When is the storme moze rather to be provided for, but whylest the weather is faire, neyther is there a moze dangerous thing then in the time of peace to neglect the knowledge of Armes, for when that care is set aside, both Prince and People are left as a pray for every oppressour, and is an inducement for him to attempte, that otherwile would be glad to combine.

**Pill.** I can tell you Captaine Skill, this doctrine will be reputed flat heresie: what in the time of peace to provide for warre, & to spend money when they see no danger: I can tell you our peace-mongers cannot abide it, nay they will not heare the name of warre so much as spoken of, till they have newes that the Beacons be on fire about their eares.

**Skill.** I might spend a long time in deliuering presidents, how manie inconueniences haue bene incur'd where they haue neglected this preparation, and omitting all the rest, let Salomon giue vs light, who though he were promised a peaceable government by God himselfe, and had this addition to be called *Rex pacificus*, yet he furnished his Garrisons with moze warlike provisions then ever his father Dauid had done before him, notwithstanding he was still turmoyled and every day buisted in the warres, for if preparation be neglected till the warres begin, either it cometh too late and out of season, or it heapeth together such confusion with making haste, as it groweth vnprofitable, and the proceedings will be but slowe, the execution slender, and the wants intollerable.

**Pill.** Preparation then is alwayes to be in readinesse, but both not this readines consist alwell in training men, & making them skillfull & ready in Military knowledge, as in preparing all other habiliments & necessaries appertaining to the wars.

**Skill.** Young souldiours vnproviden and sleightlly trayned, are not to be casten into the field against an Armie exercised and beaten with long practise, for vnexperimented men are fitter to furnish a funeral then to fight a kelve: as little safetie is to be hoped for in small and unequal numbers, which do rather feed then end the warres, & do rather increase charge then win Honor: small companies are shut vp without doing good to  
them



themselves or hurt to their enemies, & as they are little feared of their enemies, so they are lesse esteemed by their friends.

Where there is a mighty Army in the field, what City or Towne, Country or Province, wil not be glad to curry fauor, and willing to redeme their good will?

To conclude, a feeble Armie is euer despised aswell by friends as foes, but an able Army that is prepared and managed as it ought, will soon bring an enemy to yeelde eyther by victorie or composition.

Pill. When they are a little mistaken that doe thinke because they are able on the sodaine to furnish a Muster rowle with infinite numbers of names, that therefore they can as quickly supplie the field with an able company of Souldiours; and there must be a like preparation of money as of men, for monie is tearmed to be the sinewes of warre, and is of such importance in the Campe, that though a man haue plenty of Souldiours to follow him, and store of Munition to serue him, yet wanting money to make paye, a man may say as Flaminus did by Philipomines, that he had the handes and legges of warre, but he wanted the belly.

The Prince therefore that will leade an Army, must learne with Theseus not to enter the Labyrinth without a Clue, he must be provided with sufficient Treasure, for the want wherof many Armies haue bene forced to dissolve.

Skill. And there is no preparation exactly to be set downe what might suffice, for warres haue neyther time nor set boundes.

Pill. And the preparation is not so breiectaine, but it is as hard to be attained vnto; for though Arithmetick can quickly cypher downe a whole myllion of Treasure, yet all the rest of the Liberall Sciences are not so prodigall to bring it in together.

Skill. And yet I thinke there is more disorder in the issuing of the treasure when it is prepared, then there is travell in the attaining to it, and that if there were a good order specified in the expending, neither the charge would be so great, nor the expence so burthenosome, as I knowe they haue bene.

Pill. Captaine Skill, I am not ignorant what reportes haue gone, how Princes haue bene purloined by cheating officers, but our discourse is now of preparation, and by what meanes money might be prepared for the expence of warre.

Skill. It would be a tedious matter to set downe the means that hath bin practised (more then ordinary) how to get money onely for the supplie of warres, for besides Rents, Revenues, Impositions, Taxes, Subsidies, penalties, Lones, Confiscations & such other like, there hath bene great summes rayled for the pryde and excesse both of men and women, from their garded garments, their coloured silkes, their gold & silver lace, their Plate more then necessarie, their Jewells, their Coaches, and such other superfluities.

The fraudulent dealing of Officers hath bene sometimes examined and brought in question, & infinite summes hath bene by that meanes gathered together, & brought to the treasure.

Pill. He that should aduise these presidents to be followed here in England, perhaps might offend more then a good many, and yet me thinks there were some reason to induce, that those that haue robbed others of theyr money by fraudulent and deceitfull meanes, should be bled like Sponges, that when they haue drunke theyr fill, are then fit to be pressed.

But now whilst I thinke of it, I will tell you what aduise a plaine country fellow did sometimes giue to Gentleman of good sorte, and one that had a great & a gainesfull office freely giuen him by a gracious Prince, which gentleman being appointed to borrow money for his Soueraigne vpon priuy seales, comming into a part of the country where the men of best abilities in the shire (by a former appointment) were repayed vnto him, to whom this gentleman in a briefe discourse told them how many occasions their Soueraigne had to imploy money, and was therfore diuised to make bolde amongst his good friends to borrow for a time till it might be repayed againe.

One amongst the rest (being no lesse plaine then wealthy) answered againe after this sort, If not directly in the same manner, yet I am sure not farre from the matter.

I pray God, bless our Soueraigne (said he) and seeing there

there is such neede of monoy as your maister ship hath spoken of: so; my part I am not onely willing to lend this proportion that is demaunded, but if his Maistie would follow my further aduice, I could teach him such a tricke, that he should haue money comming in every day, little or much, and it would come troling in such sort, as I warrant there would not be so great neede to borrowe of subiects, as now of late time there hath bene.

If you haue such a tricke (answered the Gentleman) you might merit much; and there is no doubt, but it would be very graciously taken by your Soueraigne, in making it knowne.

I can do it (said the other) and I will tell you what it is: and if his Highnesse could but make shift to buy your Maisters office, and thre or foure others that I could name, and keepe them in his owne hands, your worship knowes he needed to want no money, but it would still be comming in, his cofers I warrant would neuer be emptye.

The conclusion was, I thinke his honest meaning man had but small thanks for his counsell, for those were no times for men to rest with Officers.

Skill. Besides money, there are many other provisions to be cared for: as Armour, Weapon, Munition, and infinite of other furnitures, that are all to be provided afoze hand.

But the necessitie of victuall (in the time of seruice) are of no lesse importance then the necessitie of money, without the meanes of which, there is neither meane to conquer, nor hope to liue.

Valiant mindes, wil oppose themselves against the Pike, will aduventure vpon the Pulquet-shot, or runne vpon the Cannon, but I did neuer know any man so hardy, that would yeld himselfe to encounter with famine.

Where victuals therefore are not conveniently provided for, the greatest mindes are terrified and overcome without stroke: and a hungry Army can neither obserue Discipline, nor performe any great enterprize.

Pill. I haue knowne especiall seruices neglected, yea, and overthrownes, & but onely for this want of victuall, but I

will not speake of particulars, because in finding a fault, I know not to whom I should offend, whether those of superiour authoritie, that might haue commanded, or those that were but inferiour Officers that should haue provided: but this is to be considered, for the expedition of war, such Commanders, & Officers should be made choice of that had iudgement aswell to consider of the pursuit of an enterprize, as to looke into the beginning.

**Skill.** For the expedition of warre, it will neuer be accomplished with any hope of good successe, but by the vse of two instruments, Election and Discipline, the one in chusing, the other in framing when they are chosen.

**Pill.** But there is great error in Election, and it is committed in two manners, either thinking that he which is noble should likewise be vertuous, or for particular affection, perhaps in the behalfe of some one from whom the party would expect the like fauour againe: now if wars were to be waged against enemies, which would not take advantage of errors and negligences, a Prince might chuse more for fauour than for neede.

**Skill.** And for Election that was wont to be free, and of an bright iudgement, it is now become a slave to opinion, to that opinion that is both blind, lame, particular, and selfe conceited, and yet hath prevailed so farre, that we want but one of these Erasmus to dyspise opinion, as one hath already writ in the playe of folly.

Where opinion beareth sway, she ruleth like a God, she maketh foles to be reputed wise, Cowardes to be called couragious, and silly ignorant asses, to be admired for their martiall skill.

She sendeth Captaines to conduct, Officers to direct, that are fitter themselves to be trained, then to haue command.

Opinion sendeth men to the warre corrupted with vices, where they oppose themselves against all order & Discipline, they robbe, they spoyle, they sweare, they swagger, they quarrell, they eate, they drinke, they fight, they faint, they flye, they are couragious in spoyle, and cowardes in fight, they are curious in speech, and carelesse of reputation, there is neither glory in their victorie, nor dishonour in their flight.

Where

Where opinion mannageth the affaires of warre, without the assistance of Judgement and Skill, the danger is great, but the expences are intollerable.

Pill. This election which you do here speake of (as I perceiue) doth not so much concerne the ordinary Souldiour, as it doth respect the appointment of Generals, Captaines, Commanders, and all other Officers that are to direct and mannage the warre, in whole worth and vertue it consisteth either to make the Souldier moze or lesse profitable for service, and it belongeth to their prouidence and care to make him able or disable to serue.

Skill. This well chusing of Officers is the most special thing to be obserued by those that are desirous to accomplish by warre: Amongst the rest, the place of the Generall hauing the first superiortie, if in his electiō there be not the like regard and circumspection had to his skill and worthinesse, there may be chosen an instrument of all disorder, when by his vnskillfulnesse in martiall government, there may arise so many euils, so many mischiefs, destructions, and confusions, as it may be called a much greater plague, then that which ariseth by the most infected ayre.

Pill. The olde proverbe is, Such Carpenters, such chips, such Sain's, such Reliques: and I beleue (indeed) where a Generall is chosen vnskillfull, he lightly draweth about him Captaines and other Officers, as vnskillfull as himselfe, and then where the blind leads the blind, if they should performe any great enterprize, it might well be registred amongst other miracles of wonder. But I will not take vpon me in this place, to say how many abuses hath bene committed in the election of Captaines, and other Officers of the warre, I will leave them till another occasion, and will here first speake of the choyce of the Generall himselfe, on whose skill and worthinesse (immediatly after the permission of God) the warre may be said to be happy, or unfortunate.

Since then the hope of winning or losing doth so much depend in the Generall, by doing, or not doing his dutie, we thinke an Armie would be much better mannaged

Under the conduct of two or three Generalls, and the Prince might hope of better success in those seruices where he had severall to command, and not to trust overmuch to one.

*Skill.* I will alwaies preferre the government of one, because it is a government most agreeable to nature: and if without presumption we may compare small matters with infinite, it is most agreeing to the example of the Almighty himselfe, who being but one God alone, governeth and ruleth uniuersally altogether: from hence it likewise seemeth more, that the people of one Nation, should be governed by one Prince.

*Pill.* But it happeneth many times, that in matters of doubt, there is not so much safetie in the opinion of one, as in the aduise ment of many, because affection, or passion, either through anger, or through spight, or through lust, or by some other turbulent occasion, sooner entereth into the minde of one alone, then into a multitude.

*Skill.* But I say againe it is an easier matter to finde one alone to be good and wise, then to finde a great many: I could inferre presidents, but by former experience it hath bene found, that it is better for those that be good and honest, to liue vnder the government of one Prince, though he should be severe and halfe a tyrant, then to liue in those regiments where there are as many Kings, as there be Officers in authoritie: where there is more danger in displeasing of a great man, then there is safetie in seruing of a Soueraigne.

Blessed say I, is that Regiment where the mightie oppressors are governed by one vertuous Prince, and not where the vertuous Prince is overruled by many great oppressors.

And as there is nothing more noysome to good subjects, then to haue many Kings in one dominion, so there is nothing more pernicious for a Prince, then to make severall Generalls in one Army of equall principallitie: for where there are severall Commanders of equall power and authoritie, if there be not contention for preheminence and superiortie, yet be sure that the desire of glory will breake the necke of amitie betweene the: & wher hono<sup>r</sup> is to be atchieued, the valorous mind cannot

cannot endure to haue any sharers that shall diuide or partice pate with him in that glorious bottie.

Pill. But these contentions are enermore incident amongst the ambitious, and ambition is commonly an attendant to those great persons that are descended of Honorable lineages: but Nobilitie in these dayes (for the most parte) haue layed aside the practise of Armes, she endeuoureth not (as she hath done) the deedes of Chivalry, wherby she is growen vnterly vnable to serue her Country, as in times past she hath bene: our ancestors made themselves noble by their Vertues, but now Nobilitie is best knowen by hir scutcheons, she is become a seruant to pleasure, and hath giuen her self to idleness. Nobility in times past hath bene followed by Souldiers, but now she is haunted by flatterers: she hath countenanced wise men, but now she suffereth her selfe to be seduced by those of little witte.

Skill. The wings of true Nobility to make her flie high, are the deedes of Chivalry, and being inlightened by martiall skill, maketh her to shine more clere and light.

I knowe not any thing so certaine that carryeth with it a greater Haileste, then for Nobilitie to make noble defence against such as compound the miseries of Civil warres, and to be great leaders against foraine Inuaders.

Pill. True Nobilitie loveth glozy, abiect Nobility loveth wealth: true Nobilitie scorneth that fortune that is vnaaccompanied with Vertue, and seeketh out that danger which is attended by Honour: she desireth not to seeme but to be Noble, and rather to be a Lion amongst Hartes, then to be a Hart amongst Lions.

Nobilitie considereth not in titles bestowed from our progenitors, but is extingished in him that onely hath wit to keep money, and no hart to win Honor: it is a title to a good man of great excellencie, but not to a wicked man of great infamie.

To conclude, true Honour onely leaseth to this, to deserve by noble deedes, to endeavour for her Countries good, to cherish the well deservuing of the Valiant, to banish Foles and flatterers, to live an excellent life, and not to shame nor

**Die an honourable death.**

Skill. Then who so fit to command an Army, as he that is Noble: and the Art military is the principall profession for Nobilitie: as for all other qualities, they are but as ornaments to garnish the first: no not the studie of Sciences and learning it self, are but as complements to this glorious study of armes: As one demanding of his friend whether he would rather wish to be Achylles or Homer, was answered; Tell me thou thy selfe whether thou wouldest rather to be a Captaine or a Drummer: but for him that is Noble, what tytle so honorable as to be called a great Souldier, vniclesse we care not to shewe our selues like vnto those that in learning will seme to be men of warre amongst the ignorant, but amongst Souldiers, can but shewe themselves to be learned.

Pill. But where Nobilitie by her stone containing this honorable profession, haue thereby made her selfe unable to command, is not he then to be reputed noble & honorable both, who so; the god of his country refuseth no danger, but is contented to hazard himself to the death, only to attain experience? What are we to looke after birth or parentage, when we see many times, persons that are but of a base degree, to be yet invested with most high & noble gifts of Nature?

**Skill.** There are to be commended and to receive their reward, but unfitting yet to bear this rule of an absolute Commander: for where Noblemen are inflamed with the desire of glory and renowne, those of meane parentage do more desire to exceed in wealth then in worth; for they have neither true taste nor feeling of hono<sup>r</sup> & renowne, but are rather inclined to a covetous humo<sup>r</sup> (which is the root of all Impietie) and leadeth them many times to neglect gold<sup>e</sup> glory for grapple gain.

When who is so dull of understanding, but would be enflamed with the love of Vertue, and would thinke himselfe most happy & blessed, to be governed by the wisdome & vertue of noble personages, whose desire is to have the rule & government of others, only for this consideration, that they might in their Office & government, shew forth magnificent bountifullnesse, & impart such vertues unto others, as with which their owne mindes are fraught & singularly furnished.

Pill.



Pill. But now it is to be understood, that every Rocks and Iynage is set forth and beautified by Vertue, and Vertue not beautified and set forth by Iynage.

Skill. Yet Noblenesse hath ever bene honozed by all men, because it standeth with reason that god should spring of god, and Vertue is most often succeeding in Noble blood: and the worthinesse of honozable ancestors craveth a reuerend regard to be had in their posteritie, where he that is but of meane or simple parentage, must endure much to aduance his reputation, and cannot raise his estimation but with that tediousnesse of time, which the Noble by birth shall attaine vnto in a moment: and the innoble may be sometimes inticed to Vertue, but not by the allurements of Vertue it selfe, but are rather prouoked vnto it by dread, or by compulsion, or sometimes perhaps in hope of preferment: and where Vertue is thus darkened with a wauering hope & a faint courage, it is brought low, and but creepeth by the ground, where the vertue of true Noblenesse (indeed) being pure and vndefiled, doth swiftly raise it selfe on high, and doth with confidence mount vp to the highest heauens.

Pill. I acknowledge that Nobilitie which as on a chiefe pillar is raised vpon Vertue: but where that pillar of Vertue is shaken and overthrowne, there Nobilitie it selfe must likewise fall to the ground: And I do further truly confesse, that he can do nothing gallantly, valiantly, or forceably, whose minde is not kindled and inflamed with honourable desire.

Thus giuing Nobilitie her due, I preferre the Noble to be most worthy of this great command, knowing that the bare title is more effectuell to draw a reuerent regard, and to enioyce a more dutifull obedience in an Army, then the largest Commission. A Prince may deuise to graunt to him that is but newly crept vp from a meane reputation or a slender account: And because I haue here spoken of a Commission, here now ariseth a doubt, whether it be behouefull for a Prince, for the benefit of his owne seruice, to prescribe a Commission to his Lieutenant or Generall, so tying him within certaine limits, that he may not passe the bounds of his commandment, what better occasion might be taken for the benefit of seruice.

Skill.

**Skill.** For the answer of this doubt, it is first to be considered, that when a Prince will vnder his Generall by such a Commission, it is necessary that he furnish him with all manner of provisions so abundantly that he shall not want: for otherwise, what service is to be expected where they are first pinched in their provisions, and after bound so fast by their Commissions, that they shall not be able to helpe themselves?

Next, it is as behouefull for that Prince that will tie his Generall to straight limits, that he doe likewise very circumspectly instruct and direct him in those seruices he hath to performe, which is almost impossible for him to doe: for how should men that are ignorant themselves in the affaires of warre, prescribe their Generalls what they should doe, or what they should not doe: or how should those that are absent, giue prescriptions to him that is and must be in present view, and not because him of those aduantages that the variety of times and occasions may offer?

Some Princes and States that haue bene suspicious of their Captaines, haue vndered them by straight Commissions, other some againe, that hauing had respect to the dangers of times, yet foreséeing the inconueniences that might ensue by ouermuch pairing their Generalls authoritie, haue in their Commissions left this (proviso) That they should proceede according to the variety of time and occasions, notwithstanding any restraint in them contained.

**Pill.** But whether a Generall that is thus tyed, may not sometime vse his owne discretion vpon occasion, as opportunitie may offer?

**Skill.** The severitie of Manlius Torquatus might suffice to discourage any man to stand in this conceit, who spared not the life of his own sonne, but for fighting with an enemy contrary to his commandement, notwithstanding he obtained the victorie.

But the Almighty himselfe preferreth obedience to be better then sacrifice, and it is moze fit by executing the commandement of a Prince to shew obedience, then by exceeding their bounds to shew contempt.

For

For this cause the Souldier was woorthily commended, who having already advanced his weapon to have taken the life of an enemy, that was under his mercy, whilst his arme was yet lifted up to have given the deadly stroke, the Trumpet sounded a retraite, wherewith the Souldier staying his blowe, let his enemy thus escape: this being espied, it was demanded of him, why he let slip so great an advantage; he answered, I holde it farre moze honourable to obey my Captaine, then to kill mine enemy.

Pill. He that had a compleate Army of such Souldiers, might woe the wonders: but some will say, that when occasion is offered to a Generall for the benefit of his Prince, he ought not so nicely to stand upon the prescript of his Commission, as to neglect the benefit and fortune presented unto him, when there is no Prince so provident who is able to foresee every accident that may happen: he is therefore to be reputed neither for wise nor valiant, that will stand so much upon his Commission as to neglect any occasion that may bring advancement to the honour and profit of his master.

Skill. It is a dangerous thing for him that shall swarue from the Commandement of a Prince, trusting moze to his owne iudgement, then in his whom of reason he ought to obey, because if his imagination do faile him, and his enterprise conclude but with ill successe, he runneth into the penalty of disobedience, without any hope of excuse or pardon.

But admit that his purpose be well effected, and brought to a good passe according to his desire, he may then thanke his fortune moze then his wit, and this is all that he hath to trust unto.

The Romanes in the prime of their greatnes, were not only strict in punishing these offences, but they were as severe to punish with shame and ignomy, their Generalls and principall Commanders (without any respect of their greatnes) that by shamefull practises had sought to vanquish, and by dishonourable meanes had obtained victories upon their enemies: neither could Lucius Pius so escape with his drunken conquest, but that in stead of a glorious triumph which he

required, he was repaid with a shamefull death, and a flamm-  
derous Epitaph, which he deserved.

Pill. But had they not in those dayes the practise of vile  
and villainous deceit, as to bereave an enemy of his life by  
poyson, or by some sodain stab or stroke with a weapon, or to  
hire a murderer secretly to do some shameful office or executio:

These haue bene the policies of late times, and these prac-  
tises haue bene especially approued.

Skill. By these meanes Fabritius would not win, he not  
only refused a conquest offered vnto him by that traytoꝝ Ti-  
mochiars, but he likewise detected and accused his treason to  
the King his maister: neither would Camillus receive the  
School-maisters offer, though he might there by haue subdu-  
ed the Phylistiens: no they thought it a matter of great Im-  
pictie, of an honest quarel to make an vniust conquest, neither  
would they admit of any practise wherein was sounde either  
fraude or deceit, although it seemed neuer so profitable.

Pill. The Discipline of that age was much to be wondꝛed  
at, yet moze to be honoured: but was there the like respect vsed  
to those of ordinary account, I meane to priuate Captaines,  
and other Officers and Ministers of the warres?

Skill. There was no respect of persons; no bearing with  
abuses, no not when whole Colonies had transgressed their  
Military orders, but they were decimated, and euery tenth  
person executed as they fell out by lot.

Pill. And he that seareth the effect, must seeke to anoyd  
the cause: and they that were so seuer in punishing offen-  
ders, would not themselves be the Instruments to drawe on  
offence: I meane in the Election of Captaines and Officers  
in their warres: I thinke it was done with such care and cir-  
cumspexion as they would not admit of the vntwoꝛthy, or the  
vnable.

A Captaine in those dayes could not buy a company for  
mony, no; be admitted to charge by bꝛybing, sometimes by  
making himselfe Pensionary, paying a yearely stipend, which  
must be exacted either from the Prince or Souldier, or from  
both.

I thinke

I thinke my Lozde nor my Ladies Letter could not then haue preferred a man that was unworthy & of no experience; neither do I beleue that a Victualer could then haue crept in to an Office though a whole hundred of Angels should haue made intercession for him: nor a Prouant Maister, whose Office was to provide apparell for Souldiers, could not haue purchased an Office for money, nor be suffered to poison and pill the poore Souldier euen to his very shirt.

Skill. In those times such Captaines and Officers were chosen as the places had need of, not such as had more need of the places, they were not then admitted to exact their owne greatnesse by the ruines of the Prince, nor to make their owne gain by the spoyle of the Souldier, the publique treasure that was to be employed for the payment of Souldiers, they would not suffer to be purloyned by deceiuing Officers, the victualers, Prouant Maisters, Officers of the Musters, and other Accountants were not onely looked vnto, but they were likewise looked into; if any of them had bene found unworthy, or had bene taken tardy in a trip, he was sure to be dismissed and punished according to the qualitie of their crime, they neuer stood in doubt to displease my Lozde his maister that had commended him; they then bent all their inuents to serue that Prince or State that gaue them pay, and not that Lozde or Maister that preferred them to their places.

Pill. One speciall meane that a shifting Captaine hath to deceiue his prince, is in his number, to take pay for a whole company when he hath not halfe: if his conscience wil farther stretch to exact and cheate vpon his poore Souldiers, he hath many base and vngodly shifts to performe it, but it were a pitieous thing, that any mans greatnesse should bolster out such abuse, or that because a scraping Captaine should be knowen to be a fauourite to this or that Noble man, therefore there should no man dare to crosse him in the camp, least his friends should crosse them againe in the Court.

For these Officers before spoken of, they may deceiue both Prince and Souldier by many more meanes, and of far greater

ter summes then the Captaines can do : and it is like enough that in times past there hath bene some such Officers, and it is as likely that some others that should haue bene Controwlers of the offence, hath bene partakers and haue had interest in the gaine.

Skill. But these were lamentable times, when Souldiers by these means might stand more in doubt to be robd by their Captaines, then to be hurt by their enemies, and miserable might that warre be called, where more may perish by the fraudulent demeanour of shifting Officers, then otherwise slaine by the enemies sword.

It is not enough therfore that Generals themselves should be elected and chosen with great foresight and care, but it is as much behouesfull that priuate Captains & all other Officers put in authoritie either to rule or to prouide, should be chosen with the like regard and circumspection.

Pill. There is nothing of more importance then the choosing of good Officers, whether in peace or warre: but especially where more Honesty is so put to silence that he dares not speake, as many times his mouth hath bene stopped by Bribery and Flattery, two shrewd enemies : Ne Hercules contra duos.

Skill. Corruptions hath bene from the beginning & will continue, but where Bellona rings the Alarm-Bell, abuses wil there multiply : but Captaine Pill learne this of me, what is vertue in one is vice in an other, it is not so; men of our coat to finde any faults, and although the world be rather inclined to dispaire what is amisse, then to commend of that is well done, yet he liueth in better quiet that speaketh but what he should, then he that blabbeth all that is true: what should men of our profession haue to do with Bribery & Flattery : the time hath bin you had bin better to haue spoken against preaching : do you not know, he that wil sacrifice to Thraso, Gnato must be his prick : and be there not many great personages, who although they can discern of a flatterer, and do knowe themselves to be palpably flattered, yet they loue him that flattereth fastest, and wil hate him that should tel him the truth :

Pill.

Pill. Augustus that good Emperour of Rome, was neuer angry with accusers, because he thought it necessary, that where many abuses did flourish, that it should be thereloze better housefull for every man to speake his mind freely: But the Polititian, he that hath but Mammon for his God, and Machiwill for his ghostly Father, he cannot away with these findings: A good Iade will kick, and a guilty conscience is afraid of rubbing, and these be they that do rather seeke to couer faults then to mend faults: these Politicians that be called the sharpest and the quickest witted men, what be their policies, or whereunto do they apply their quicknesse of wit, but to couer their naughtinesse? If they haue a little good amongst a great deale of ill, they thinke that little good to be utterly lost, that hath not the eyes of the world to witnesse it, and to giue it applause, so that if they doe any good, it is but to the end to be seene, and to be prayesed by men, for in secret they will do nothing: if they heare to do euill, it is for feare the world should know it, and were that feare taken away, they would sticke at nothing.

I thinke there is not a more mischieuous creature in the world, then is a man, if he be both wise and wicked, for where the wit is byied by a licentious will, there honesty is forced to play bankrupt, and it is but a rude kinde of honesty, that restraineth men from doing ill, but for feare of a popular report.

But I cannot altogether blame the carelesnesse of the world, in that it is become so sparing of good inducements, when there is neither reward for well doing, nor recompence for good desert: nor so much as a Memorandum for the most honorable enterprises, how worthily so ever performed, vntlesse perhaps a little commendation in a Ballad: or if a man be sauaged by a Playmaker, he may sometimes be Canonized on a Stage: But Vertue, thou art diuened into a narrow scantling, that haile no better recompence, then what thou canst diall from vice it selfe: It is no wonder though so fewe do looke out after thee, for thou art growne poore, and who would follow a begger?

Skill. As the prompt and ready wit employed in bad purposes, is most hurtfull, so it is necessary that euery sapient wit,

shadowed with a little pretended care, should intermeddle with matters of State, nor should busie it selfe in those affaires that should not publikely be brought in question.

*Pill.* As I am not ignorant that the State nor policy, are not to be medled withall by every man, so it is a pitious thing, that vnder this p̄script, *Quod supra nos, nihil ad nos*, and so; that it is and hath bene a receiued opinion, That all truths are not to be spoken, that therefore a man must not indēuour his countries good, nor speake those trutthes that might concerne the glory of God, the seruice of a Prince, and the benefit of a Common-wealth, or whether these p̄scriptions before spoken of, should so restraine a man from doing his dutie to his Soueraigne, that he should not informe those abuses committed, whether in the Campe, or in the Court: or because the corruptions of some great personage, might thereby be detected, his good meaning therefore should not onely be ill construed, but his honest indēuours bitterly disgraced, and himselfe reputed a busie bodie, that is too forward in meddling with matters so farre above his reach.

*Skill.* The p̄aple of well doing, consisteth chiefly in two points, wherof the one is in choosing out an end, that our purpose is directed vnto, that is good in deede: the other the knowledge to finde out apt and waste meanes, whereby to bring it to this expected good end, thus appointed and intended.

Now he that pretendeth but to reueale those thinges that may be beneficiall to his Prince or Countrey, his purpose is honest, and is directed to a very good end, and in such a case, he is not to neglect any thing that may tend to so soueraigne a good, but is rather to aduenture himselfe for the safetie of either: yea, although it should fall out to his great reproach.

*Pill.* When ten times happy may that Common-wealth be reputed, where the eares of the Soueraigne Prince are open to the informations of honest and dutifull subiects, not onely in hearing matters that might giue light to his owne affaires, but with like gracious regard to heare and consider of the



the private and particular complaints of more oppressed subjects, where Innocency is oppressed by Envy, where simplicitie is intrapped by subtiltie, where truth is suppressed by authoritie: for a Prince that heareth the complaintes of his wronged subjects, is like a Crisall streame, wherein all may drinke that are drye.

Skill. If the blessednesse of a Common-wealth doth consist in the clemency of the Prince, under what Clymat might we seeke for a more happy Regiment then this of our owne native soyle: what age hath ever afforded a more princely government, then that of our late deceased most gracious and godly Elizabeth: whose magnificence filled the world with wonder, whose Paiefticall greatnesse was sought unto by the Princes of foraine Nations, who thought themselves best secured, when they had entered league and confederacy with her: whose greatest enemies did yet admire her heroicall vertues, whose royall person was from time to time protected by the Almighty arme of God, from the traines and traps of Traitors, that daily pursued her, not for her finnes, but for her sinceritie and love to the pure worship of God: they hated her indeede, but not for any faultes or offences of her owne, but for her zeale to that glorious Gospel, that giveth light and life to those that doth embrace it: they sought her destruction, but not for her abominations, but because they detested theirs.

Soe here againe the wonderfull goodnesse of God, and his mercie towarde this Realme, at that very instant of her Paiefties death, when there was nothing looked after but for confusion, no hope expected but effusion and shedding of blood: Soe then, I say, his blessing redoubled, a gracious and a mightie Prince established in peace, not a sword drawne, though the enemies of the glorious Gospel of Christ, had then intended the execution of their fury.

If I should now take upon me to expresse the worshippes of this renowned King, thus intoned by the hand

hand of the Almighty, I might imitate the Painters of Greece, who taking vpon them the portraiture of Iupiter, were euery day mending, but could neuer finish it: and being demaunded why they had begun what they could not end, they answered, in that we shewe him to be Iupiter, whom euerie one may begin, but neuer any man be able to perfect.

If any man be yet desirous to make a moze ample survey of his vertues, let him but reade those lines by himselfe, he hath left to posteritie, and he shall finde by the excellency of the fruites, how much England is made happye by so glorious a tree.

God blesse the stocks and branches altogether, and send them long to flourish, from generation to generation, in the highest tye of honour, and Princely Paicific.

Pill. Amen say I, and withall humblenesse I beseech it: and that God that rules the heartes of Princes, put in his royal heart the care and safetie of himselfe, for his owne and Englands good.

God keepe him still from the godlesse, and the God maker; the Atheist, and the Papist; the one neuer loneth but in policie, the other is still practising for his Dope: and it is a hard matter in these dayes to distinguish Humilitie from Flattery, their words and smiles are the one so like the other.

But Captaine Skill yett haue already taught me not to meddle with the affaires of Princes, and I learn'd it long ago, by the fable of the Foxe and the Wolfe: and although it be but a fable, it is yett worth the repeating, because there is contained in it good admonition.

The Foxe and the Wolfe passing by the Lions Denne, were desirous to see what he was doing: and the Foxe being subtilly but a little perping in, told the Wolfe that the Lion was asleepe: the Wolfe taking courage to take a better view, was no sooner entered, but the Lion immediately caught him in his clawes, and demaunding of him what was his presence, the Wolfe fearefully made answere, that vnderstanding by the Foxe his Paicific was asleepe, he thought without offence, he might inuade both his person and his lodging: to whome the Lion roughly replied.

Doest

Doest thou thinke that a Lion thy Prince and Governour can sleepe, though he sometimes winke, or darest thou enquire whether he winke or wake? thou shalt know to thy griefe, that neither the wilinesse of the fore, nor the foolish pride of the Wolfe, ought to enquire whether the Lion be asleepe or awake, at home or abroad, dead or alive, this alone is sufficient for you to know, that he is a Lion, but not where he is, nor what he is doing.

Skill. The like cameat was given by Apelles, when Alexander on a time coming to his shop, would needs take upon him to paint. Apelles placing him at his backe, and tending his owne worke, would not so much as cast an eye to see what Alexander did, which being perceined by Alexander, he demaunded of Apelles why he did not otherwhiles overlooke his handys worke, to see wherein he had erred and done amisse? to whome Apelles said, it is not for Apelles to inquire what Alexander hath done, and therefore did I set your Statue at my backe, that I might not so much as glance with mine eye to see a Kings worke, and yet that you looking over my head, might see mine, for Apelles shadowes are to be seene by Alexander, but not Alexanders by Apelles.

So ought we to frame our selves in all our actions, as though the King were still standing over to behold our doing, but not for us to looke and enquire what the King doth bebinde us, or to take upon us to reforme his errors, or mistakes.

Pill. It is no wonder then, though Princes do but selldome times correct and amend their errors, when there is no man so hardy that dare reprehend them, or that dare let them understand when they overslip.

The counsel therefore of Demetrius is to be commended, who exhorted Ptolomy to reade many booke pertaining to government, for that there he should finde many things which his subiects durst not tell him.

Skill. There is no man that willingly giveth eare to him which doth freely and liberally tell him his faults or imperfections, but when a man hath both meanes and will, and a good occasion

occasion to doe it to his Prince, let it be perfozmed with great reuerence and modestie, that the Prince may perceiue no lesse loue towarde him, then a will to discover vnto him the error which he committeth: for otherwise it is not lawfull by reproachfull speeches to publish the faultes or ill dwinges of a Prince, neyther is it possible for a man to behaue himselfe so reuerently towarde him, though it bee reported that when Aristippus could not bee heard of Dionisius, hee threw himselfe doونه at his fete, saying, the faulte is not mine though I committe Idolatrye, but the Kings whose hath his eares in his fete: yet say I, euerye one is to reuerence and obey his Prince with all humbleness of duilie, for that the honour is not ginen to him but to God himselfe, whose Minister he is.

Pill. And yet all mens eyes are still attendant vpon his demeaner, and his dwinges are examined as wel in the Countre as in the Courte, and the actions of the most mightiest Monarches are manie tymes censured in the meanest cottage.

Skill. The vigilancie of the people is so much the more, because the life of the Prince is a ring leader to the multitude, vpon whose example either of good or ill, the people are still depending, for example is the readiest waye to instruct: and therefore it is trulie saide, Such Prince such subiectes: if the Prince bee good himselfe, hee will likewise make others good that are about him, and there is not a greater testimonie of the want of a Prince, then to see the goodnesse of those that doe attend his person.

Pill. But are there not manie Presidents left in record of Princes, which of their owne dispositions haue bene most graciously and vertuously inclined, and haue yet bene corrupted by those that were neyghest about them: sometime vnder the pretence of policie and profit, they haue bene led into errors: otherwhiles their eares haue bene abused by those that had no other meanes to make themselves gracions in the eyes of their Prince, but by saying him with matters perhaps more profitable to the purse, then

then healthfull to the soule. Some other againe by seeking to blindefolde the Princes eyes, that they shoulde not looke into the assayes of the miraner sort of the subiects, nor so much as to take knowledge or to receive anye Complayntes of the oppressed, haue thereby kept the Prince in ignorance, and made themselves wise.

Howe manie Princes againe that haue bene of great Renowne, of rare vertue, and of excellent wyt, hath yet bene led with licentious libertie, drawne in by these inticers of pleasure and dellyght: these fallen flanes that can creepe, crouch, lye, sawne and flatter so; a fauoure, that can watch, wright, dissemble, and conspyre to please a Prince: these haue bene the plague soares of manie common wealthes, that haue often ruinated Kingdomes, and ouerthrowne Estates.

**Skill.** The fauoure of a Prince is highlye esteemed amongst men, and yet beinge duly considered of, it is but a poysoned bayte that induceth manie daungers: so; besides a wearisome life, and the miserable seruitude that belongeth to Courting; so a man must be verie respectiue in pleasing of his Prince, although sometimes but with worldly vanities.

These seruantes of ambition, doe manie tymes thrust themselves into infinite perilles, especially when they become so familiar that their Princes will imparte vnto them their secretes: But hee that knoweth the secretes of Princes, hee is chary of it, hee shutteth his mouth, and feareth least it should escape him: but is it disclosed, the vndiscreet man doth publishe it, and perhappes the wise man is blamed so; it, and the least suspicion is now enough to ruinate him, that before might haue slept in his Princes bosome.

I will therefore commend the Doct Philippides, who beinge demanded by King Lisimachus, what fauour hee might doe vnto him so; that hee loued him, made this answer to the King, that your Maieste would neuer impart vnto me any of your secretes.

By this it might seeme, that in the love or hatred of a Prince there is almost a like danger: I therefore thinke it not amisse to follooe the fable of the earthen vessel, which in no wise wold hold any company with y<sup>e</sup> brazen vessel, so; feare of knocks; and it may easily be thought, that in the company of a Prince, a man cannot utter his minde freely, no; doe any thing contrary to his pleasure, but if he doe, he shall be no friend of Cæsars.

Pill. Fire warmeth those that stand aloofe, and burneth him that creepeth too nigh: I love the Court, but (vnder correction be it spoken) I haue thought it a sitter place so; Paris then so; Hector.

Skill. Captaine Pill, the Campe is better besitting a Souldier then the Court, and I thinke, your experience and mine both rather serue to speake of Souldiers, then to iudge of Courtiers: and I wonder how from our first matter of discourse we are hit into this brine, that I wish wee might let be, and returne ouer to some other text, that our skill will better serue to discourse on,

Pill. I hope our honest meaning will not be imputed to presumption, and I haue the rather aduentured the matter vpon this occasion, the mitigation of warre now hoped so;, and a blessed peace expected, by a most gracious and happie government, hath giuen Souldiers a time of truce, that they may lay by their Armes, and inuention to whet their wits in any other commendable exercise: And we may a little take this advantage in our discourse, and not so to tye our selues to martiall matter, but that vpon occasion we may a little digresse, like a cunning gamester when he is at Hazard, will sometimes leaue the Paine to play vpon the Bye: And I would not be thought to be off so furious a humo; as y<sup>e</sup> fiery spirited Gentleman Souldier, that sitting amongst pleasant company, was requested by a Gentlewoman to dance, but he with a disdainfull look, tolde her that he took no pleasure in so vaine delights: the Gentlewoman requested him againe, to say wherein his pleasure did especially consist, and hee bending his browes and looking with a sterne countenance, tolde her his felicitie was,

Armed

Armed in the field to encounter his enemies. **The Gentle** woman smiling at the folly of our baine-glorious partialist, made this answer. Now God be thanked there is yet no need of your seruice, for our territories and confines are happily blessed with peace, and therefore I could wish that you were wel besmeared ouer with oyle, and so hanged up in some faire Armozy till we haue need of your helpe: for it were great pittie that a man of your courage should be cankered and eaten with rust now in this peaceable time.

I would be sozy to receiue such a trump, neither wil I stand so much vpon my martiall points, as though I could do nothing but speake of fighting of fieldes.

I wil therefore speak or do any thing as occasion shall serue: in the time of warre, I can listen to the Drum, but in the time of Peace, a Tabret and a Pipe are merry about a May-Pole: and although I be ill made to daunce, yet I wil rumble on amongst the rest, I had rather they should finde fault with my cunning, then to repute me to be disdainfull.

And now we haue taken this little bzeath, let vs (in Gods name) march backe againe to the Campe from whence we came, where we haue left our Generall not so fully complete as is requisite: for it is not enough for him that shal command an Army to be nobly bozne, but he must be likewise fortified with those gifts that are no lesse to be attained vnto by education as by nature. And as I remember, Cato prescribeth three special vertues to be had in a Generall, that is to say, Experience, Policie, and Valiance: and the Antiquiste would neuer admit of him for a Commander, that was either insensible in skil, or openly detected of vice.

Disweearing breedeth hatefullnesse to all honest eares, Consciencelessnesse extorteth both of Prince and Souldier, Pride bringeth with it disdain: and Cato being Censurer to make choice of a Generall in the Panonian warres, openly disgraced and dismissed Publius, because he had seene him walke the strates of Rome perfumed.

Skil, To this Experience, Policie & Valiance prescribed by Cato, we will adde two others, namely, Iustice & Mercy.

Amongst the rest, Justice is the foremost and first to be preferred, for it is the foundation of Eternall fame, without the which there is nothing can deserve to be praised or commended: and Justice in a Generall towards his Souldiers, is the key of his Discipline, the entrance to confirme their love that love him, and a curbe to restrain their misdeemeanures that would offend him.

Again, the force of commaunding is the consent of them that obey: and this consent springeth by estimation, the which by no one meane is more exactly squared out then by the execution of Justice: for when the Souldier shall perceiue that he shall be suffered neither to do nor take wrong, it so confirmeth him with such feare and love towards his Commander, that he wil refuse no enterprize though he should be willed (as Scipio saide) to cast himselfe headlong from the height of a Rocke.

Pill. Justice hath bene reputed to be the Twin-sister of Mercy, and to vse too much severitie, is not the readiest way to winne, especially amongst Souldiers.

Skill. An uncontrowled Army, that is not curbed & managed by Justice, is like a brain-sicke Jade without a bridle, more noysome and corrupt then is a body without a soule: but yet to holde a meane, is the salt and soule of every vertue: neither is there any thing more nigher to Injustice then is the asperite and rage of Justice.

The warres are therefore to be prosecuted with as great Justice as strength, and as the Justice of the cause is first to be appoyned, so with like equitie and right, the warres must be maintained.

A righteous and a iust cause addeth increase of courage, it inciteth to Valiance, and it doth so conceytable and strengthen the mindes of men, that they may adventure their lines with the greater boldnesse, when they know that whether they live or dye, they may do both in the service and feare of God.

Pill. And is not this observation of Justice as well to be kept with enemies, against whome we are Armed, and haue entered hostilitie, as with adherents and friends, whom we may commaund and overrule

Skill,



**Skill.** The example vsed by Camil'us vpon the Schole-  
maister may suffice for the matter, that was moze effectuell to  
subdne the Phalatians, then was the might or force of the Ro-  
mane Armie, neither was there any thing that made the Ro-  
mane Common-wealth, so gloriois and triumphant, as these  
vertues of Justice, Clemency and Loyaltie, which they alwaies  
vsed to their very enemies.

**Pill.** The warres then were perfozmed with as great  
honour as they are now with trechery, and the Campe might  
then haue bene reputed for a Schole of honour, iustice, obser-  
uance, dutie, and loyaltie: but now it is become a denne of de-  
ceit, trechery, robbery, blasphemy, & all maner of other impiety.

And as this obseruation of Justice is of great excellencie,  
and is a blessing potwized downe from the heauens, so the effect  
of it, is but in maintaining of right, and doing no wrong: A les-  
son of no great importance to be learned and carried away,  
though not so easily kept. But now for this Militarie Experi-  
ence, that is behouefull for a Generall or Captaine, how is  
this to be attained vnto? for this is not to be learned by pre-  
cepts, but it is to be taught by time, not to be comprehended  
but by continuall practise, it is bought with gray haire, grie-  
uous woundes, and great daungers: If I be not therefoze de-  
ceiued, he that should command, should first learne to obey,  
and he ought to be a man of triue and knowne Experience,  
that should haue so many mens liues depending on his skill.

**Skill.** There is no occupation, be it neuer so simple,  
neither is there any profession, how slender so euer in account,  
but it craveth both practise and Experience, and at the least a  
full apprentiship of seuen yeres, befoze a man may be thought  
woorthie to be employed in his facultie. If then in these means  
and pettie causes, the attainment of Skill is not to be appren-  
ded, but by such continuance of time and practise, how many  
yeares were then behouefull, or what procelle of time might  
be thought sufficient, for him that should be perfected in marti-  
all Experiences in the knowledge whereof, there was neuer a  
ny man yet so complete and exact, but he was still every day to  
learne: yea, though he had serued full out seuen apprentiships.

Only

Onely the knowledge of the Art Military, the older it is woyn out with yeares, the yonger it wareth, and the farther off to be attained and comprehended.

The want then of this Experience, breedeth the want of courage, when the suddainesse of peril is moze terrible then the danger it selfe, and by how much it happeneth to a multitude, by so much the matter seemes moze desperate: for when their mindes are once possessed with feare, there is no place left for confidence, but turning all their hopes into doubt, they surrender themselves without consideration, not whether aduise and counsaile should direct them, but whether their distressed fortunes wil condux them.

Thus Ignorance begetteth feare, feare engendzeth doubt, doubt leadeth to desperation, and desperation bringeth to destruction.

But it is Experience that confirmeth mens minds in the vertue of Valiance, maketh them to be resolute, and truly magnanimous.

Occasions themselves do rather giue counsailes to men, then men to occasions, when occasions many times will affoord moze helpe in warre, then Vertue, but it is Experience that must take opportunitie when occasion doth offer.

And Reason it selfe must many times giue place to necessity (especially in matters of warre) in that it seldom suffereth a man to make choyce of time: Again, the fitnessse of place is to be considered, which many times yeldeth moze aduantage then the vertue of force, but stil it is Experience that must discerne of altogether.

So that we may wel conclude Experience to be the first, the second, and the third meane whereby to obtaine in warre.

Pill. Whow many Turk-Tassita Captaines haue we in these dayes, that perhaps haue made a Caales Voyage, or haue bene a moneth or two in the lowe Countries, or in Ireland, or haue had the conducting of souldiers to the waters side, or hath bene a trainer or a Puffer-maister (as they call him) in the shire: yet if they had but learned to double their rankes on the right hand, and sometimes to runne away on the

the left, and can speake a little of the newe Discipline, they will discourse of greater exploits then ever was performed before Troy.

They will speake of conducting of Armies: howe to instruct them, when to make off skirmishe, howe to fight with advantage, where to imploy horse-men, when the shotte shall give their volleys, how to encounter with the push at the pike, when it is time to charge, when to retire: you shall heare them fight a field, and give an over-showe, and all by imagination.

You shall heare those sometimes that will ingrosse the actions of a whole Armie, and will attribute so much to their owne value, that it were a hard matter to beleue them without a stedfast faith.

With these toys they have deceived men of reasonable wit, though of little understanding: and sometimes when they have hit into the presence of some Nobleman that was ignorant of martiall matters, they have so amazed his senses with these errogating explications, that his super-exceeding courage, shall not onely be admired and wondred at, but his martiall skill and Experience, shall be ratified and commended by Nobility it selfe.

It is enough for him that can but robbe a painted cloath of a historie, a booke of a discourse, a sole of a fashion, if hee can sweare blood and sownes, take a pipe of Tobacco, and bring my Ladies letter to my Lord, it is Experience enough, and he shall be preferred before another that hath served twenty yeares in the Campe.

Skill. God blesse me, my Countrey and friends, from his direction that hath no better Experience then what hee hath attayned unto at the fetching home of a Page-pole, at a spidersome fighte, or from a traying at Mirende-Greene: neither is it a Ladies letter, nor a Noble mans fanoure, nor at the least, three or foure yeares traying, that can make a man fit to commande in a well governed warre.

**Pill.** How should we now distinguish of that honestie which is perfect and absolute (indeed) from that false and pretended colour of honestie, that is but counterfeit and falsely surmised, or of that policy, that should be an ornament of honour to a Captaine or General worthilie renowned, from that craft & subtiltie that is now shadowed & cloaked vnder the titles of wit or policie, which are no other then fraud and deceit: and then if Plutarke speaketh true, there is no fraude without iniurie.

**Skill.** I commend policie so it be legitimate, first begotten by wit, and fostered by honestie: and there is a certaine honest subtilty which passeth vnder the name of policy, as to make attempt against a common enemy, a robber, a spoiler, a rebel, a traitor, in such a case it importeth nothing in respect of Justice, whether he be assailed openly, or intrapped by ambush, or by any other practise wherein faith and honour may be preserved, and Justice nothing violated: this policie hath bene of great commaunde amongst Souldiers, and good reason so, when in the action of warre, it is fitter for the field then force.

**Pill.** Policie without force, is like a workman without tools.

**Skill.** And force without conduct and skill, may well charge an enemy, but seldom win honour.

I know Force to be requisite, but where it beares more swaie then vnderstanding, it runnes to confusion, and to destruction in the end.

Force that is not assisted by aduice, is like a horse without a rider, of it owne selfe, it destroyeth it selfe: and Force and surie, without Discipline & Order, are easily vanquished and overthrowne by Policie.

The strength of vnderstanding is therefore more available in the day of battell, then is the strength of vnskilfull men, and more fields haue bene lost for want of policie, then for want of strength: so where force serueth for execution, policie is he that prepareth the meane.

To daunte an enemy by Force is the Souldiers praise, but

but to intrap him by policie is the Captaines honour: & more  
gloze for a Captaine to be feared of a wise enemye for his poli-  
cie, then to be praised by a foolish Citizen, rather for the losses  
that follow him, then for any wit in his head.

**Skill.** Besides Straginus that are euerie day inuaded  
and denised as occasions doe arise, so there are monie pre-  
ceptes politiquely prescribed, that me thinkes in this place  
woulde partlie be remembred, because they are behone-  
ful for euery Captaine to obserue: amongst the rest, whe-  
ther it may stande with policie, that those enterprises un-  
dertaken with indiscretion, or against reason, should es-  
cape vnaproved, though they conclude with some good or  
lucky successe.

**Skill.** Reason beholdeth some purposed ende, whe-  
ther it directeth euery action, and hee that undertaketh  
with Iudgement and discret on, if hee bring his affaires  
to a good and happie successe, it will be imputed to his  
vertue: but if to any ill issue, it will be attributed to the  
malice of his fortune: and the antiquitie punished nothing  
with more severitye, then those enterprises attempted a-  
gainst commaundement, or undertaken against Reason:  
but as they punished those victories that were attained by  
brute and foolish hardinesse, so misfortune diminished  
not his reputation, that attempted with discretion, neither  
attributing cowardinesse to ill successe, nor Aliance to good  
fortune.

**Pill.** A Captaine then ought warilie to examine  
the ende of his duties, before he gives them course, for he  
that enterpriseth rashlie not considering of the issue, shal  
repent him of his follie when it is past remedie.

**Skill.** When a Captaine hath to deale with an enemye,  
whom he knoweth to be a man of iudgement and skill, so long  
as he shal find him to proceede in his affaires with reason,

so long it may be belenged, there is nothing bene extraordinary, otherwise then with a due course, according to Iudgement and martiall skill, but when attempts are made as it were against the haire, and enterprizes put in practise, that are denoid of Reason: A wise Commaunder in those cases ought to be the moze vigilant and wary, and to thinke that such offers are neuer made, but vpon some hidden purpose.

Pill. To be ouerlight of beliefe, argueth a lightnesse of wit, and those that are ouermuch credulous, may be reputed to be men of the first Impression: to make account of an enemy so farre sooth as is needefull, is the part of a wise Captaine, but so to feare him, as to be afraid to encounter him, argueth the want of Courage, and there is no greater signe to lose, then when a man is perswaded, not to be able to win.

Skil. To make small account of an enemy, is a dangerous matter, and many honourable enterprizes hath bene intercepted, where an enemy hath bene thought so feeble and weake, that they haue rather despised him, then made any account of ought he could do: but a wise Captaine will neuer so lightly regard an enemy, so; if he be olde, his wisdom and Experience is to be feared, but if he be yong, and therewithall either heady or rash beware of his fortune, so; according to the olde prouerbe, Fortune doth not onely fauour Fooles, but is likewise helping to those that bee bolde and hardy.

And in daungers where there be many eyes to beholde, you shall see some whose hearts are already almost dead, yet pricked with shame, or intised onely by company, they will goe so;wardes (as it were) blindfold, and do their dutie.

Pill. Machiuell thinketh it no policie so; a Prince to be aduised in his martiall causes, by such a Councell as are altogether aduised to warre, or too much inclined to peace, but miserable is that warre, say I, where Couetousnesse doth either commaund or giue counsell, or hath any interest at all either with Officer or Souldier.

Skil. There is nothing moze rather to ouerthrowe an Army, then where the Captaine or Souldier are moze desirous.

rons all people, then careful of honour: And couetousnesse is the cause of many great euilles, for as it hindereth victorie before the fight, so againe after the fight it plucketh the glory of an overthorow out of the victors hands, making him of a Conqueror, to become conquered.

**Pill.** There is not a more pernicious euill, then that of Couetousnesse: and a couetous wretch, as well in the time of peace, as in the time of warre, is detested and abhorred, and by how much he is advanced to greatnesse, either by his owne wealth, or by auaritie, by so much the more hee is cursed by the people, and vengeance daily denounced against him, by as many as hath to deale with him.

**Skill.** Couetousnesse is the Cure that deuoureth his stone Aetion, the Ball of Hipomines, to hinder the course of Atalanta, the Charibdis that swalloweth by all honest meanes whereby the multitude should maintaine life: The Scraping Wyck that scratcheth the wooll from the silly Sheepe, when it cometh but to take shelter, the Canker that fretteth the Common-wealth, eating and deuouring the gettings of the poore.

It is Couetousnesse that poisoneth the eares of Princes, and teacheth them to neglect and set aside all iust and honourable dealing: It is Couetousnesse that holdeth nothing unlawfull that bringeth in gaine: It is Couetousnesse that maketh no conscience in gathering of Golde, nor in spilling of blood.

**Pill.** It is Couetousnesse, that was neuer cherished by vertue, nor beloved of God, and as Couetousnesse is a most hatefull vice in him that should commaund an Army, so I cannot admit of him, that from a bare and meane estate should be advanced to that dignitie of a Generall, because his pouertie would be a spurre to picke him forwarde to exact from those, that Nobilitie inuested with Honour, would otherwise cherish and maintaine, though to his owne expence.

**Skill.** Were is yet to be remembred, how much digressing from.

from martiall Policie : so; a Prince to assey himselfe on such confederates, as are dull and slow in helping : o; to seek assistance from friendes that are farre off, who by reason of the distance of place, cannot give such speedy succours as necessitie may require.

And no lesse dangerous againe to be served by Souldiers, that are to encounter with an enemy, who is likewise served with Souldiers of the same Nation, considering how hard a matter it is to bying Souldiers of one Nation, to any encounter, the one against the other.

Pill. We should not neede to looke out farre so; prebents, so; he that hath bene well acquainted with the services of Ireland, will quickly set downe, probatum est.

Skill. But that experience is better in a medicine, then in a malady.

Pill. And it is strange to see how many water-casting Whistians hath taken vpon them to looke into the diseased estate of that Realme of Ireland, and how they haue pretended not onely to knowe the nature of the sicknesse it selfe, that both oppresse it, but also from whence the cause hath had proceeding, and how it might be cured.

And he that hath bene in Ireland, and but of one months continuance in the Countrey, would set downe precepts of reformation, and prescribe plats and meanes how the people might haue bene reduced to a dutifull and louing obedience.

But plat what, and how they could, the Irish haue from time to time continued their rebellions : and within the compasse of our owne memoies, that Countrey hath consumed many worthy and gallant Gentlemen, and spent our late gracious Quene, infinite summes of Treasure : and notwithstanding that the base and beggerly Irish (I meane those of the rebellious sorte) had no meanes to maintaine a warre against so mightie a Princesse, no Artillery, no Provision, no Storehouses with Munitions, no Shipping to transport, no Mint to make pay, no; any manner of other helpe, either to leuy new forces, o; to supply their olde with convenient necessaries



ries fit for an Army, yet they have borne out their rebellion: sed n. time to time, so sometimes for season or eight yeares together, and but with a little Oate-meale and Butter: In the meane time there were Politicians, that (of my conscience) did not so much as thinke of God, nor neuer meant to let him knowe, nor make him priuy to their deuises, and yet would say, they durst undertake to haue reformed Ireland with the very industry of wit.

**Skill.** The policies of men are vaine, and those policies that hath not their originall from that diuine and soueraigne Policie, deriued from the word of God, is both vaine, and foolish: and it is no lesse fond, to beleue that a people should be confirmed to the dutie and obedience of their Prince, that are not first reduced to the true knowledge and service of their God.

And what reformation may be expected in that Countrey, that doth swarme with Je.uites, Seminaries, Helling-Priestes, and other like Ministers of Antichrist, the protested enemies to all those Princes that doe maintaine and vpholde the pure word of God.

But this is more strange then all the rest, that there should be any hope at all to reforme a people, that from their berie infancy haue bene trayned by vnder Schoole-masters, who not only instructed and nouised them in the disciplines of the Popes Church, and as they grew in yeares, caused them to bow and protest obedience and subiection to his holiness: but also would perswade and inuoyne them by exhortations, from time to time, to hate, contemne, and despise their Prince, that they would say, was but an Hereticke, accursed and excommunicated from the Communion of the Catholike Church; and when they grew of age to take an oath, they sware then vpon the holy Masse Booke, truly and honestly to obserue the promises.

This hath bene the vse of Ireland in times past, and I am sure hath bene as conuerfant and generall throughout the whole Realme, as there were either Schoole-masters to teach, or Schollers to be taught.

Pill.

**Pill.** Is it possible that the lenitie of so gracions a So-  
ueraigne, as she that swayed the swoyd so many yeares, with  
such mildnesse and mercie, shoulde yet be requited with such  
disloyaltie?

**Skill.** Her Maiestie thought that in being gracions,  
she might thereby haue wonne their heartes to a moze loyng  
and willing obedience, and to this ende to drawe them to a  
dutifull regarde, what did she neglect that was eyther besit-  
ting a Prince to grant, or behouefull for subiects to receiue,  
but that she liberally bestowed amongst the, what pardoning,  
what protecting, and what mitigating of offences that were  
committed against hir, and how many Gentlemen of that  
countrie byth, were continually returned from hir Maie-  
sties Court, back againe into Ireland, laden with gifts and  
prefermentes, who after they had passed and possessed their  
grants, would not after come in place to say Amen, where  
they heard hir Maiestie prayed for.

**Pill.** Yet some will say there is not a readier meane  
whereby to drawe subiects to a settled loue, then this bountifull  
and gracions clemencie vled by the Prince.

**Skill.** He that handleth the Nettle most tenderly, it  
tingeth most bitterly, and although men be made all of one  
mettall, yet they are not all cast in one mould.

The nature of the Irish are to be considered, that for the  
greatest part are inclined to crueltie, to theft, to robbery, to trea-  
son, to deceit, and such other.

How to encounter these with gentleness and curtesie, were  
to let a Shep, to encounter with the Wolfe, the Lambe, with  
the Lyon, the milde with the mercilesse, and therefore to a peo-  
ple thus disposed, close crueltie is moze apt to reioyme, then o-  
pen clemencie.

**Pill.** But they complaine of too much crueltie vled by  
our Nation, especially now in these late warrs: they say they  
are exacted, robbed and spoiled, & maimed no lesse by the coun-  
dier that should defend them, then by the rankest rebell that  
is most readie to oppresse them.

**Skill.** Seditious estates, with their owne deuises, calls  
friends

friends with their owne Swords, and rebellious Commons by their owne snates, ozalwes on their owne ouerthowles.

Do the Irish complaine of crueltie, and of the exactions of the Souldier: do they not knowe that Souldiers in the time of warre will spoyle, and that it is the fruites of warre to waste and spoyle: and I thinke ordained by the Almighty himselfe, as a scourge vpon the people, to make them to seele and knowe their finnes.

But it is good to see vice, to finde fault with vice, to see sinne, to rejoyce sinne, and to see imperfection, to beare witness of the same imperfection in another.

Could they now but consider, that it is their owne misdeemeaners that ozalweth on these warres, by their entertaining of Jesuites, Seminaries, Fryers, and Bawling Priests, their receiuing of them into their houses, relieuing and maintaining of them against the proceedings of the Prince, and so thinke of their owne disloyaltie and disobedience, in harbouring those that are the very fire-brandes of rebellions, the stirrers vp of commotions, the very instruments of sedition, to seduce and set subiects in Armes against their Soueraigne: if they could duly consider of this, some of them would rather blush, then complaine, and might rather looke for a due deserved punishment for their disloyaltie and contempt, then hope to be relieved in that which cannot be redressed, till they reforme themselves to an vnsained subiection, and a more dutifull loue and obedience to their Prince.

Pill. I haue heard that in the beginning of Sir William Druries government of that Countrey (which was some 25. yeres sithens, oz thereabouts) the whole Garison of y<sup>e</sup> Realme was not about 400. foote, and 100. horse, (besides the wardes of some fewe Castles) the Countrey could not then be greatly oppressed by Souldiers: and I haue heard it further reported, that if one thousand of our Nation had bene ozalwne altogether into a strength, that all the rebels of Ireland durst not haue encountered them in any indifferent ground.

The case is altered howsoener it happeneth, and it should seeme that either the Irish are become more hardie, oz we haue  
 lost

lost our wonted Courage, for nowe of late we haue bene oxmen to imploye farre greater numbers, and all little enough so farre as I can perceiue, and sometimes with the leasse to perfoyme but what were requisite.

Skill. It would seeme that our progenitors many yeares agoe, stood in some feare of that which is now come to passe, and knowing the inclinatio of the Irish, how readie they were to runne into rebellion, and how desirous to shake off the English government, to prevent those meanes that might further their rebellious pretences, they established certain decrees, confirming them by act of Parliament, amongst manie other that were instituted for that purpose, it was ordeined that no man of the Irish birth should haue charge or collobie of anie Castle or place fortified belonging to the Prince: nor that anie Captaine should retaine aboue three Irish men at the most in his companie of one hundred, and these to be admitted but as spies or guides to passe through the countrey.

Where were manie other lawes made, prohibiting the Irish from certaine principall offices, and in like manner prohibiting the English from marrying, sojourni<sup>g</sup> & combining with the Irish.

Whilst these prohibitions were carefully obserued in the countrey, they were not able to raise anie great rebellion, but that might haue bene suppressed with a small number of men, and with no great charge to the Prince.

But after these good constitutions were neglected, and that euerie Captaine was at libertie to retaine as he listed, and for his owne gain to conuert his companie that should haue bene all English into three parts and more of the Irish, and when whole companies of the Irish were created, I will not say the most of them sent from the rebels themselves, but of purpose to betray, but by this meanes the whole rabble of rascals were armed, trained, disciplined, and made apt and fit for any rebellion: and by these meanes the number of the rebels daile increased, that were still armed and weaponed at the Princes charge.

I wil not speake of the seuerall reasons and practises frō time to time by them perſormed, but this is not to be ſorgotten, that the Irish themſelues finding how ſilly they had deceiued be in hoping of any aſſiſtance in their ſervice, would merily be-  
maund, When it was euer heard on, that one Wolfe would pray vpon another,

Pill. Will you giue me leaue Capitaine Skill, but to deliuer a matter of my knowledge?

There is an olde Irish practise, that ſince I haue known Ireland, hath coſt our late gracions Quene moze money then would well haue ſerued to haue conquered thoe Iſlands: and this ariſeth likewiſe by the onermuch truſt and confidence that is had in the Irish: and it is the ſhote Anker that they all truſt vnto, ſoꝛ when all hopes do faile them, this they are ſure will neuer deceiue.

The matter is, when they haue plaid the traitoꝝs, and haue ſtood out in open rebellion, and that they haue bene purſued with great expence of treaſure, and haue bene brought (as it were) to the laſt gaspe, not longer able to endure, then to take breath, and to ſupply themſelues againe with their further practiſes, they pretend humilitie, and they will make choyce of ſome ſpeciall man ſometimes perhaps of ſome great Councelloꝛ of that Realme, oꝛ of ſome other great Cominaunder of that part of the countrey, where themſelues are abiding: but ſuch a one they will ſtill make choyce on, as they will be ſure ſhall be well befriended, as well at the Councell Table of Ireland, as otherwiſe in the Court of England: To him they will pretend great ſubmiſſion.

They will deſire him to be a meane ſoꝛ a pardon, they will make great offers and proteſtations of their ſuture fidelitie, they will ſay they will deſerue, and they will put in pledges ſoꝛ ſecuritie: perhaps they will giue their Procuradoꝛ, a ſcoꝛe of Bienes, oꝛ a brace of faire Hoꝛſe.

This Cuncelloꝛ, oꝛ Cominaunder, oꝛ whoſoener looking into his owne iands, & ſeeing them euery day waſted (oꝛ at the leaſt in danger to be ſpoiled) by this traitoꝛ y now craveth his aſſiſtance, is glad to embrace his frendſhip, together with his ſute,

and howsoever he thinketh the Rebelle will holde promise with the Prince, he is sure in the meane time his tenants and himselfe shall be spared from spoile.

Here he calleth to minde againe how acceptable a p[er]ce of seruice it is accounted to bring in a Traytor, how much it will redounde to his reputation, when it shall be reported what a notable rebelle he hath brought in, how highlie it shall aduance his credit, and how his friends in the Courte of England shall reioyce and glozifie his seruice, commending it to the eares of his Soueraigne Prince, whome they haue made beleeue what a sparing it shoulde be as well of monie as of manie mens liues, that the Traytor shoulde thus be receiued to giue the matter the better grace, they will tell what wonderful seruice by his meanes might after be performed, and how manie ill disposed persons will be dismayed and terrified vpon his comming in.

There is no opportunitye left, nor no labour be spared till a pardon be purchased, which being once attained, the Traytor is brought in, and where in his action of rebellion, he was able to furnish the field, with foure hundred, six hundred, or a thousand traitors, he is not now able to serue his Prince with six true men: but he serueth his purpose, and watching his time, goeth out againe, and will after be three times more chargeable then he was before.

These be no nouelties, nor no rare and daintie matters to be found, when there be an infinit number of presidents, that might be inferd; how our gracious Quene by this means haue bene abused.

Skill. There is no neede to conceale these things in secret, because they are already to openlie knowne, many other matters there be concerning the former affaires in that Countrie, that are rather priuately to be considered of, then publicquely discoursed, the which because they are not for me to looke into, I wil therefore leaue them to those that are quicker sighted.

Pill. By this I perceine, it is better for wayfaring men to tread those tracts already troden out to their hands, then to take vnknowne waies, that may perhaps sometime lead them  
astray,

astray, or at the least, lead them the farthest way about: so; if those presidents by you rehearsed, left by predecessors, had bene as carefully obserued, as they were wisely prescribed, the rebellious sort of the Irish, had not bene so well enabled to haue maintained their rebellions: and now I see how that which was attributed to the exceeding wisdom, policy, & valiance of the Irish, might rather be imputed to our oversight, when they strengthened themselves rather by our assistance, then by their owne wit and worthinesse.

Skill. For the wisdom and policy that hath bene noted in the Irish I must not speake of, & the best commendations that I can giue is this: they haue bene beholding to their English friends, it is not the Irish, but the English with the Irish hearts that hath vndone Ireland: let the rest passe, and let vs render him his due that hath merited moze honour then men can expresse: the noble Earle, the now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, whose wisdome ioyned with magnanimitie, hath not onely repulled the Spaniard, and freed that estate from Spanish practices, but hath likewise so qualified & quieted the desperate condition of that decayed Commonwealth (almost past hope of recouerie, that he hath thereby advanced his honour to posteritie, in farre greater measure then I am able to set downe: I can therefore but wishe all happinesse to himselte, and good successe to his honourable proceedings.

And now to speake a little of that Alliance so imputed to the Irish, when doe they shew it, or where doe they performe it but in a Bogge: in a pace, or in some other ground of aduantage, where they are sure our hoziemien shal neither charge nor chase them, and where, if our footmen doe presse them with good conduct, they can retire themselves by their fast footmanship without any danger.

This is it that maketh them hardy, but vpon an equall ground that yeeldeth no other aduantage then the vertue and valiance of him that doth commaunde, and where hoziemien and footemen may doe their indeuours and be brought to serue, the Irish are as timorous as any other nation: neither is there

a people in any place where I haue bene, that will sooner trust to their heeles then they.

Pill. It may be the Irish are the moze ready to ruine, knowing their owne dexteritie and abilitie to perfoyme it: but let vs leaue Ireland, and speake of Valiance truly what it is, as we haue already done with Iustice, Experience, and Politic, and how it is or may be behouefull for a Generall or Captaine.

Skill. Valiance is a vertue without the which our liues are of small value, but the same being destitute of Iustice, is hurtfull to the good: If Temperance doe not moderate hir, she will turne into rage, and being not guided by Experience and Skill, will labour out of reason.

Pill. Some will hold him to be Valiant, that is not so venturous, and they will account of him to be but a dastard, that is not desperate.

Skil. True Valiance (indeed) is many times counterfeited, sometimes for feare of punishment, sometimes vpon wrath, sometimes vpon ignozance not foreseeing perill, will runne on as a blind man in a daungerous passage.

Aristotle would in no wise admit that Diomides should be accounted either Valiant or wise, for that when the Grækes were put to flight, he remained alone, and aduentured himselfe against the force of Hector, which he did rather to sake the vaine praise of the people, because he would not be accounted a runne away, then for the true and soueraigne good, wherein consisteth the end of vertue.

The like hee iudged of Hector himselfe, who many times beholding his wife and other women vpon the walles of Troy, would moze boldly and couragiously aduenture himselfe, rather fearing some bynte those women might haue raised sounding to his dishonour, then otherwise he did respect the Iustice of his cause, or the generall good of the City so distressed by the Grækes.

Here is no w a matter worthy the noting, that Aristotle being but a Heathen, would not admitt of this vaine ostentation, and as he had not the true knowledge of God, so  
he



he could not looke into the soueraigntie of vertue with a right respect: for those great Philosophers, that were accounted the wise men of the worlde, in ho onely but for the winde of the worlde, could despise and contemne the vanities of the worlde, they that could wepe when they were borne laught when they died, and all that they might appeare to be constant, but to whom, euen to this vncōstant worlde.

Now for those that are better instructed in the knowledge of God, they are to aime their actions at an other mark, they must looke after the substance & not after the shadow, they may well consider that true christian valiance neuer opposeth it self without the feare of God, it neuer fighteth for vaine glory, nor greedy desire, but for equity and iustice, & for the cōmon & generall good: it neuer aduentureth rashly or vnadvisedly against reason, but with iudgement & deepe foresight; for courage without conscience, is like the Pharises fast, and he that wil fight desperately without Experience, may well be called an angrie soile, but neuer a valiant soile.

Pill. I neuer heard a soile reputed to be valiant, & yet I haue knowne some not greatly overburthened with wit, that were rash & hardy enough: but I perceiue y<sup>e</sup> euerie bold bayard is not valiant, & how that courage which is forward to danger without iudgement, may rather beare the name of lewd hardines, then of manlinesse.

Skill. Plutarke maketh the distinction, for he saith, that all valiant men are hardie, but all hardie men are not valiant, as those that wil oppose themselves into perill, sometimes without iudgement.

To conclude, he cannot be said to be Valiant, that is not strengthened by the goodnesse of this cause, and justified againe by his owne skill and knowledge: but he that is thus armed, he sheweth himselfe resolute, and without feare in the midst of the greatest perilles: yea in the verie daunger of death it selfe: and although he be at any time oppressed with an impossibility of being victorious, yet to shunne and eschew desperation. he betaketh himself to patience, which so mightily defendeth him, y<sup>e</sup> with great difficultie he may be overcome, but neuer conquered.

Pill.

Pill. Patience is but a drie plaister, but it is a tried medicine, for it armeth men to the proofe against all the assaults of Fortune: and I thinke that courage which at the point of death it selfe, sheweth no discontentment, nor signe, nor shew of griefe, may well be imputed to constancy, and why not to Valiance?

Skill. Those whome Fortune hath throwne downe, being spoiled and bereaued of solace and contentment, if in extreame desperation they make light account of death, there is in them yet a certaine assurance of dauntlesse Cowardise, because they hasten their dying day, not so much for shewing their Constancy, as for auoyding of miserie, as may thus be expressed.

In Fortunes high disgrace, each wight may death disdain,  
But he most valiant is, that can in wretched state remaine.

Pill. By this now it doth appeare, that although Valiance be a speciall ornament for a Captaine, yet it marcheth but in the Rearward, preferring the other two before him as more worthy, I meane Experience and Policy: and I see it is not ynough for the valiant man, to doe what he can, but he must likewise take heed, that he attempt nothing, but what he ought: and therefore without Experience, he should runne into many errors, and wanting Policy, he should likewise want meanes to execute: but I wonder what Souldiers haue to doe with Percy, which you say is required in a Generall: I remember the Germanes will needs haue it confirmed, that there are three notable soles in the world. The first, an honest Dice-player: the second, a mercifull Souldier: the third, I thinke be a Tintner, that will sell wine without water. But for a Souldier that must be tied to Experience, Policy, and Valiance, and all but to reuenge, what hath he to doe with Percy: or how can Percy and Reuenge draw both in one yoke?

Skill. As Justice without temporance is reputed cruel-  
tie, so Spagnumitie without Percy, is accounted Tyranny.

This

This goddess is milde, gentle, & gracious, and there is nothing wherein moztall men may so naxerly resemble the diuine nature, as in shewing of mercie, and in giuing of life and lastitie: to shew comperation to the distressed, who in their sorowes haue no other recourse then to sighes & sobbes which ascende vnto the presence of God, where they are most fauourably receiued: and what can men doe to shewe themselves moze like Gods vpon the earth, then in bestowing of this blessing, to giue pardon and life?

Pill. But this is fitter for Magistrates here at home, and to such as should receiue the petitions and complaintes of the poore, but what is this to souldiers whē they are in the field in the presence of their enemies?

Skil. The encounter then must be pursued with courage, but the victorie must be vsed with mercie.

The Lacedemonians vsed befoze they entered battell, to make solempne sacrifice to the Muses, to the end they might by them attaine, aswell how to vse victorie gentilly, as of Mars to become victors mansfullie: and Mercie carries not that grace and comelinesse in anie other person, as it doth in a mightie Conquerour, or a great Commander, because they haue moze occasion to vse and exercise it, and it manifesteth it selfe most of all, where it hath most matter to worke vpon.

Pill. Pittie without equitie is plaine partialitie, and Mercie out of time & season, or leaning ouermuch to lenitie, hath moze resemblance to foolish Pittie.

But Politie sometimes excludeth both Mercie and Pittie, as the Greeks, who after the destruction of Troy, slue Astianax the sonne of Hector, fearing if he had liued he might haue sought reuenge.

It must therefore be a great vertue, and especially in a Captaine to be both mercifull and wise together.

Skil. Mercie is then a speciall ornament if vsed in reason, and as the pleasure of Reuenge, both subainlie passe & vanish away, so the contentment of Mercie both for euermoze indure.

Alexander was moze famed for the clemencie he vsed to his enemies, then by all the victories he otherwise obtained: neither did hee repent him of the pardon he gaue to

Diomides (though a tyrant) no; Marcus Antonius of the fa-  
mour he shewed to the great King Herod.

It is a common thing to pardon light and small offences,  
but to remit faults of great importance, belongeth onely to the  
magnificent minde: and as much impossible for a noble hart to  
be cruell, as it is for a cruell hart to be contragious.

A mercifull and a milde authoritie, byingeth that to passe,  
which a violent force is not able to do: and a gentle intreaty  
is many times of greater efficacie, then an Imperious com-  
maund.

Perry doth not only make men moze honest, but moze assu-  
red: and there is neither Sentinel no; Corpes de Guard, plan-  
ted in euery quarter, may be so safe a defence, as the good will  
and loue, that is obtained by Perry: for Squadrons may be  
corrupted by force or fraude, but this Castle is vnpregnable,  
and needeth no other fortification: it carries with it such a  
sweetnesse and content, and it drowes after it mens afflic-  
tions in such sort, that a kingdome is better preserved by it, then  
by an Armie.

Pill. When we may haue the lesse neede of Souldiers  
now at this present: but yet as we haue already spoken of the  
Generall himselfe, and of those things appertaining to his  
place, so let vs now speake something of the ordinarie Souldi-  
er, and of his reputation, what it is, or should be. Now if you  
please Captaine Skill, to make definition of a Souldier, and  
how he should be accomplished, being in that prime and full  
perfection as he sought, I will adventure my selfe to say what  
they are, and to what condition they are growne vnto now at  
this present.

Skill. When to speake of a Souldier as I would haue  
him, I will spend a great deale of spirit, amongst the good spi-  
rits of thes times, not of that spirit that makes a winter  
billoes to breake vpon it selfe, but of that spirite which  
like a Partyes fire, burnes by a bodie to quicken many spi-  
rits.

I make my tongue mine eyes Oracle, I chalenge time to  
be

be my tongues instance; I will speake of pure love in weak oratory; I will shew, though not a Philosopher to define, yet a Souldier to execute.

Then what inferre I, but this: I will speake of a Souldier, shall I search him as Diogenes did a man with a Candle at none day: no, I will finde him with Scipio, with a sword at midnight: I will define him as I prone him: describe him as I wish him, and wish him such in his life, as I would be in my death.

Execution craves hazard, and they that attempt much, expect resist: resist attaines an opposite, an opposite overthrow.

To make a Victorie triumph, is to inferre a Conquered: to be conquered and not dye, is to be disgraced and yet live: to conquer and not dye, is to buy Eternitie with little price.

Out of these conclusions chose I a Souldier, as the Stoicks do their Wise men, in that (as they vainly imagine) can no wayes erre.

I knowe him to be created to execute honourably, and to be prepared for death: since he liueth still marching soyth to seek it: to hate subiection moze then he feareth death, and to coniecture the honour of his calling, by the consequence of that he undertaketh.

For what is the effect of a Souldiers life? to undertake the defence of Religion, to fight for his Prince, to withstand the hazards of his Countrey, to repulse those that would depresse the same, to protect his friends and family.

It followeth then, that as none but the Wellall Virgins were suffered to kindle the sacred fire, neither any other admitted to sacrifice to Jupiter, but such as were his Priests, and were honoured for puritie of life: so none should be admitted to the honour or title of a Souldier, except his Conscience were answerable to his cause, and his life as honest, as the quarrell he undertaketh is waightie and good.

I account not him so, a Souldier, that like a Naza-

ret weares long lockes, that can sweare, swash and swagger, and is moze noted for the bzandings he bzought from the Bzillions, then for the woundes he receiued in the warres.

The Souldier I define and sake, must accustome himselfe to enquire with the Spratans, not how many the enemies be, but where they be.

His life must be deuout, his behauiour modest, his diet temperate, his most hated enemy, shamefull sight, his greatest study, to learne Agis, that he is vnworthy to gouerne many, that hath not often and sundry times fought against many.

Such in my iudgement should Souldiers be, but such (as Ciceros Oratoz) are easily defined, but seldome found.

Pill. And where would you sake for him? what in Betwixt?

Skill. No, I am afraid of my purse.

Pill. Will you then fetch him from Byde wells?

Skill. That were to buy a horse out of Smithfield.

Pill. How then, will you drawe him out of an Alehouse?

Skill. Fine Hostelle would chide for the reckoning.

Pill. Would you rake him by as he passeth through the Streets?

Skill. That were iust to make cleane the Channell, and to carry out the filth.

In times past, he that had a Crab-tree looke, a seluys countenance, and a hard saoured visage, they would say it was a good Souldiers face: But now, they do not chuse him so much for his ill-saoured looke, as they do for his ill-saoured conditions.

But for him, that from a Psalm of mercy, is made a maintainer of Justice, and that is redeemed from the whip, to fight for his Prince, or that is but raked by in the Streets, to undertake for his Countreys defence, what policie this is, let some Philosopher decide, for my little wit is too slender to coniecture.

Pill. Let me now speake truly of Souldiers what they be: I thinke of all Occupations they be the men of the best conscience,

conscience, for they neuer rise nor fall with the Market, but let come be cheape or deare, their pay is still eight pence a day: let the dayes be short or long, faire or foule, hote or colde, they keepe their price, eight pence a day, no more then they had many yeares agoe, when they might haue bought more for the eight pence, then they can do now for their eightene.

Againe, the Souldiers in these dayes, do neuer put out their money for vsurie, they neuer purchase lands nor liuinges out of their neighbours hands: you shall not finde him in the Marchants booke for any great summes, and yet if it be but for a matter of a thousand pounds, a Souldiers word is as good as his hand.

This honest demeanure of theirs, doth so prouidege them, that after the warres ended, when they returne into their Countrey, it is in their owne choyce, whether they will begge or steale: if he cannot procure to be one of the Knights of Windsor, he may easily compasse to be whipt about the streets at Westminster.

Now of all Occupations, I would not wish my friends to bind their sonnes Apprentises to the Soldiers trade in these dayes, and yet the profession hath bene accounted honourable, and it may well retaine the honour still, for any thing that I know: but there is no gaine, nor great comoditie belonging to the Occupation.

Perhaps yet a man that hath honestly serued, at his returne home, may get some worshipfull Gentlemans countenance, or a Noble man may now and then boughse him a nodde, or a saourable lookie: And it is a goodly matter that same, and very acceptably receiued of many: but for my part I had rather haue a Lambes Portinance, then such a Countenance: for the one may serue to fill the belly, and for the other, it may well feede a soule, but I am sure it will neuer make him fat.

I thinke in times past, it was as rich a towie to get some Noble mans countenance, as it was for Scoggin to get the Bishops Blessing, that being once attained, they were both scarce worth a couple of pence.

Skill. But yet Captaine Pill I would not haue you to blasphemie Souldiers, nor to let slip such speeches as might seme in a sort to depraue Nobilitie.

Pill. I pittie the Souldier, and I reuerence and extoll honourable Nobilitie: you may say I speake plainlie, but I protest I meane honestly, though my wordes be not imbrodered with high moralitie: I care not, if my speeches be plaine and true, they so much the moze resemble their Wyze: and so children to be like the parents, besides the God wife will giue it a blessing, so it is a signe they be legitimate: defects I know they cannot want, that in the procreation were byed and bozne befoze their time: so as I was conceived of them in an instant, so I was deliuered againe in a moment: and these abortiue byats, that are thus bassilie brought into the world, though they seldome proue to haue anie great vigour or strength, yet I hope being rightlie considered of, these will proue to be of as honest and plaine dealing as their father.

Pill. Plaine dealing is a Souldiours best method, but you haue declaimed the Souldiours profession: and what Knowledge, Art, or Science is it, that you would now preferre befoze it?

Pill. Marrie I say the Taylors, and of mine honestie (sole that I am to sweare) if my censure were demanded who I thought to be the wisest men now in these later times, I would say they were Taylors: if anie man came in with his *Quare*, my *Quia* should be, because they make vs all soles, *Id est*, they vills vs euerie day with a new bobbe, with a new fitch, with a new cut, with a new garde, and they can deuise euerie day a new fashon for a sole.

Skill. He thinks (Captaine Pill) you haue dealt in your discourse as the woman, who going about to cure a blemish in one of her eyes, applied so manie plaisters til she put them both out: and you learning all this while but to salue some infirmities that haue lately crept in amongst souldier, haue at an instant so dashed them & their profession with such disgrace,



discretion as we haue hitherto spent many wordes I thinke to little purpose.

Pill. Wordes are but a windie chaffer, that are still chopt and changed, because they are good cheape, and I thinke if they were but of very little worth, we should be as sparing of them as we be of our good deeds.

Wordes are like Scoggins fluxelesse men, that he still imployed about fluxelesse arrands: And we send wordes of many more messages, then we meane to perforce: wordes when they be spoken, are as they are taken, and my purpose hath not bene to quarrell with Souldiers: neither do I thinke them to be more worthy of blame, then a great many of others, that would be reputed faultlesse: But saying I am entred into a speaking baine, giue me leaue yet once again, a little to digresse from our martiall matters, and let me spend a little breath but for mine own exercise, to speake of something, it makes no matter what.

Skill. Speake what you list I will giue you the hearing, and yet still to chop from one matter to another, some will say is no good *Decorum*.

Pill. It makes no matter for that, let them say so still, for I meane not (indeed) to follow any certain order or rule of appointed precepts, though I know curious heads will stande vpon Method: yet it is enough for souldiers if they can preferre matter: Schollers will looke after rethorickall discourse, we content our selues with bare and naked truth.

I knowe there be manie of so quick a wit, and so liuelis a spirit, that they will doe wrong vnto nature, yea and to God himselfe, & they haue found out so many subtil subtilties, that are yet made more subtil, by the meanes of subtil handling, that but with a little mist of knowledge, they will pervert, and deface knowledge it selfe: then they are so fortified and garded with such store of distinctions, definitions, conclusions, propositions, so manie paraphrases, so manie circumlocutions, so manie translations, so many figures, and such a manie of other starting holes, as I thinke Vulcans. Yet that Mars himselfe, were not able to hold them.

Then

then what am I, whose knowledge is but ignorance, whose wit is but dull, whose minde is inured in a durie prison of a sensuall bodie: how would I then take vpon me (amongst the frisking wits of these our daies) to discourse of humours, to speak of fancies, and to set downe the dispositions of the wisly multitude?

If Heraclitus were now liuing, and should take a survey of this straight of times, I wonder with what countenance he would looke vpon vs? I verilie thinke that where he wept but by fits to see the infirmitie of those times wherein he liued, he would now shed continuall teares without stinting, to see the unhappinesse of the time now present.

And I doubt againe, that if we had another Democrities amongst vs in England, to looke vpon the conuersion of all sortes of people, I wonder whether he would laugh for ioy in contemplating our happinesse, still squared out by the providence of godly Princes, or laugh to scorne the practises of the vngodlie, that are still plattning and practising their owne infelicitie?

Some will say the world runnes on wheels, and it may be it hath done so in times past: but I say now it goes on crutches, it is become Bis puer, it is woren olde, decrepit and lame: A limping worlde God knowes, and nothing but halting between neighbour and neighbour, between friend and friend, between brother, and brother, and sometimes halting downe right between: the father and the childe.

Our auncestours alas, they were but plaine dealing men, they had not the mincing complements now in vse, they knew not a Fantastick from a sole, and they were better acquainted with a Shewing-hozone, then they were with a Setting-Sick.

But now I will not gine a groate for his conceipt that cannot make an Owle an Owlke, a Jack Papes a Shæpe, an old Phil-horse, a Balfrey for a man of honour, if he cannot work wit like war, toyme it into ante impression: if he cannot poulder it, perfume it, and season it to please fancies: if he cannot Anothomize and Martyr it: and if need require, if he cannot

not draw wit into a Quintessence.

Yet there be some others, so vnapt and dull, that it might be belened that Nature had brought them into the world but in a despite and mockerie: yet, if the Colwe-pasture be sowed with milch kine, and that there be a Teme or two of Oxen to plow the land, some sowe of Hogges on the backside, and that the wit will but serue to keepe them out of the corne, and to know when it is a good season to sowe Barlie, you shall see such a Magnifico, when he comes to a Market-Towne, will take more state vpon him, then he that solde a groates-worth of wit, in a penne-worth of paper.

Now he that should heare but one of these Hoglings at assemblies and meetings, how they will calculate of dearth and plentie, and for Corne, Cattell, butter, Cheese, and such other like, they will tell you this yeare, what price it will beare the next: if a great frost or a snowe both sometimes happen more then ordinarie, they will by & by prognosticate of dearth: or if it doe but raine one houre too much, or halfe an houre too little, the next market day they wil raise the price of corne by twelue pence in a bushell.

If these men did but knowe their owne vnworthinesse, I think they would change their simplicitie to desperation, and would conuert their pangs of vniuersall ignorance, to a quotidian fit of frenzie.

I must yet confesse they shoue great modestie, that leaving the studie of wisdome to their friends, do drawe the whole contentment from a little hurt and dole.

It would be tedious for me to deliuer the diuersitie in the dispositions of men: we see one ready to die for the loue of a woman: another will set his wife to sale: one would that euery man should liue of his owne: some other are so much inclined to Pitharoras sect, that they would haue all things to be in common amongst friends: one will boast with Thraso, another will flatter with Gnato: another to make Iohn his sonne a gentleman, will himselfe lye like a mizer all the daies of his life: but I think that be to verifie the pponerib, Happie is the child, whose father goes to the diuell.

What a numberlesse companie of hunt-men are there in the woodes, that doe follow this chase of hunting after wealth, assisted onely by this hope, to make their sonnes gentlemen, and how easie a matter is it to be a gentleman in these daies, when there be so manie servile practises to growe in wealth, and everie rich man may stand upon his gentrie.

We may now put a fir-reverence, when we speake of honestie, when Haberie, Warie, Perurie, and everie other iniquitie are honest mens trades.

And I thinke if Hell were a place of returns, and that there were anie hope of gold or gaine there to be gotten, moze troyle headed dogges then one would not be able to defend the entrie.

Our ancestors hunted after honour, but we after wealth: they left themselves famed to posteritie by vertuous indeavour: & we desire to leave some Memorandum to after ages of our being, but not so; anie god deserves: but as he that fired the Temple of Diana, to be involved with perpetuall infamie.

Some, to leave themselves renowned to future times, doe build Ratchy houses, the toppes elevated to the cloudes, which they have set up as markers of their glorie, but are the ensignes of wantie, and the monuments of miserable iniquitie.

To this colledge doe they also appertaine, who by their life daies doe seriously tract with what pompe and glorie their funerals shall be performed, and are moze forward so; a sumptuous tombe erected after their death, then so; anie god deserves performed all the daies of their life.

Some others, so; leaving there Executors to give pennies dole after they are dead, doe hope so; that daies of charitie, not onelie to be commended to posteritie, but also to obtaine a *Quius est*, so; all his former extorsions, exactions, & oppressions, whatsoever.

Skil. Captaine Pill, were it not good so; you now to take a little breath, and to think it better so; a man to reforme his owne faults, then to take exceptions at other mens.

Pill. I know there is not a moze daungerous enterpryse, then

Men so; a man to looke into the sinnes of the mighty Gyants of the world: and I say againe, we perish, if we search out their guilt, that wil swallow in wickednesse, and yet wil not be confounded.

It is now fortye yeares agoe since I was twentie yeares olde, in this meane time, I have had some respect to observe to which way the winde hath blowne, but I could never learne where bare and naked Truth had cloathed Honesty in a furd golwe, nor where Wit that had indurend to reprove Folly could get so much as a linnen cloake so; his better countenance.

Skill Honesty, that is of a reprehending humour, that wil be snarring at the vagablie, that bagge his head, and he that cannot dissemble with wicked men, alas, how can he live in the world: not by his honesty, nor by his wit: and as for learning, he that hath but the gift of flatterie, he that be able to confound all other knowledge, and to runne through the great affaires of the world: it is more available then six of the seven liberal sciences.

Pill. Why should the learned sort then adventure to give the world new eyes, to see into those things beyond the common sense of men? or why should those that be watchfull, awaken the dull and blockish spirit, with Sinne so lorde all eye, that it cannot discern the beautie of the soule: or why should they that mounes the Spheres with wit, and purrifies the suddie senses of the sensuall world, impart their pure to these regardlesse times?

You happye wights that have made the world drunken with the pleasant Nector of your rare intentions, howe up your golden gaine within your sacred breaſtes, let worlds bearing Asles breathe and feede on chaffe, unſtaine your buſſe thoughts from farther toyle, and rest your wearied Muse from this penſhip of paines, why should you talke and tie your selves to digge the mine of wit, when abſent bounty will not levell out the labour of one happy line?

Skill. The travell of wit findeth out and layeth open the deepe secrets of nature, & where wit & knowledge do meet, the

Graces sit installed in the best, the Muses sleep in the bosom,  
 Art pencils out his secrets, and Wonder builds his monuments in the excellencie of his skill.

The spoiles of bloodie warre leaueth nothing vnderoured:  
 yet must it leaue Knowledge, Art, and Science behind vntouch-  
 ed: for Warre cannot take vnie spoile from Vertue, & when  
 all things are cut away with the Sickle of Time, Knowledge  
 flourisheth so high, that Time cannot reach it.

The penne of the learned will pearce a Souldiers cosset,  
 and by abasing or concealing the most haughtie exploits of  
 the Magnanimous, they will eclips his glorie, or leaue him to  
 obliuion: and againe, but with a drop or two of inke, they can  
 exalt and magnifie their friendes and sauourours (although  
 sometimes aboue the truth) that they will leade them famed  
 and renowned to posteritie.

And who is ignorant of the true glorie that hath bene  
 dozed by by the learned in the treasure-house of Letters?

Pill. It should then appeare (Captaine Skill) that  
 Knowledge, Art, and Science, are much more precious then  
 profitable, if not, why liues the learned in such perpetual  
 want?

Skill. Because the world loues soles, and scornes the  
 wise.

Pill. Indee a sole may sometimes sit aboue the  
 fault, where he that is wise shall scant be permitted at the ne-  
 ther end of the table: but when shal Artes preuaile and flourish there?

Skill. When Kings become Philosophers againe.

Pill. That time is come, and God be thanked that hath  
 sent it in time: and now I perceiue what it was, that Aristi-  
 nus being asked why so few Princes in his time, did extend  
 their liberalitie in such sparing sort to the learned, made an-  
 swer, because their consciences did accuse them how vniwor-  
 thy they were, of those praises which the learned were accus-  
 tomed to giue to Princes that were truly vertuous, neither  
 could they discern of the excellencie of Artes, that were them-  
 selves so bitterly ignorant.

But

But now if the goodnesse of a Prince may promise a gracious consideration to the wel deserving: England is made happy in him, whose name is already consecrated to immortalitye, whose Magnificence equalled with Vertue, is able with Cæsar, with one hand to holde the Speare in the rest, and with the other to hold the pen: whose Imperiall seate is no lesse renowned by Mars, then beautified by the Muses.

I could wade farther, but it were better for me to conceite in silence, then not being able to utter, might seeme indiscreete.

I will therefore here stay my selfe, and will yet once againe convert my speeches to speake of partiall matter: but first Captaine Skill, for as much as you have already defined of a Souldiour, what he should be in the prime of his perfection, if we could now finde the cause from whence it springeth, that they are so farre degenerated from this so honourable a condition, we might then with the Physician, first by removing the cause, be able the more easilie to cure the sicknesse.

Skill. The propagation of Souldiers with vs here in England (thus lately growne to this bawsterdie kinde) are especially misbegotten in their verie first choice: for in times of imploiment, when Souldiers are to be leued and prepared, the election is made of Rogues, Runnagates, Drunkards, and all sorts of Magabonds and disordered persons, such as are fitter to garnish a prison, then to furnish a Campe: And the authoritie of these appointments are committed to illie Constables, or perhaps sometimes, to some Justice of peace, as illie and ignorant as he that is most simple: and these doe thinke they have performed a verie wise piece of service, when they have rid the countrie of this scumme of idle loiterers.

Pill. It was my fortune not manie yeares since to passe along the streets, where I sawe a companie of townes men, that were weaponed with olde rustie bills, who were halloing and pulling of a fellow by the head and the shoulders (I had thought to some place of execution) and demanding of one of the companie what offence the fellow had committed: I was

answered, that it was an idle Rogue that had bene a runn-  
gate about the countrey, & they had pressed him for a Souldier.

But I pray (said I) both your Commission warrant you  
to presse Rogues, to serve for Souldiers?

With this demand, the Constable of the Warde began  
to grow very hote and angry, and he tolde me flatly, he was  
not ignorant how farre his Commission did extend: and as for  
these Rogues, Wagabonds, and other like excrementes of the  
Common-wealth, he thought it a happy ridance to purge the  
Countrey of that infection, and by sending them to the warres,  
to keepe honest men at home in their places.

I durst not render any rough reply to the Constable, leass  
he should complaine that I went about to disturb him in the  
execution of his Office: but in a courteous manner I asked of  
him, that if the place where he dwelt were so distressed, that an  
enemie were ready to approach, to make spoyle and hauecker of  
their liues and goods, and to make a pray of the Citie or  
Towne wherein he dwelt, whether would he and the rest of  
the inhabitants his neighbours, retaine such men as they had  
pressed for the service of their Prince, to fight in their defence,  
and to repose themselves in the trust of their service?

In saith he no (quoth Paister Constable) for we would  
sooner commit them all to prison, then to put weapons into their  
hands, that would be more ready to take the spoyle of vs, then  
to hurt our enemies.

Then I perceiue Paister Constable (said I) you can  
quickly conceiue of the good or ill that concerneth your selues,  
but you cannot so easily discern of the generall good, that doth  
as nearly concerne your Prince and Countrey: but God  
blesse the place you dwell in from any such distresse as we have  
spoken of, and God defend, that either the soueraigne dignitie  
of our gracious Prince, or the honour of our Countrey, should  
euer depend in the fidelitie or service of that rascall rabble,  
thus raked vp and sent to the warres.

The Constable presently chops me by this answer: Sir,  
I perceiue by the sound of your words, you are a fauourite to  
Captaines, and I thinke you could be contrived, that to serue  
the



the expedition of these times, we should take by honest house-holders, men that are of wealth and abilitie to live at home, such as your Captaines might chop and change, and make merchandise of, sometimes by retails, sometimes by the great, (as men use to buy Oren in Smithfield) a whole company bought and solde together, not to him that was of best experience, but to him that would give most money? But sir, God defend that any man of honest reputation should come in places to be extorted, where beside the exactions of Quallers, they shall be infected with unholosome and unseasonable provisions, oppressed by the Provant Maister, cheated and perjoynd by so many scraping Officers, as it would but bryde anger to be spoken of.

Let me tell you therefore in secret, that we have learned of Scoggin long agoe, to take out sturgesse men, to send of sturgesse arrands. When the warres shall be reformed, and reduced to a more honourable course, we will endeavour our selves to finde out men of better worth, in the meane time, these may serve, as best befitting the Discipline of this age.

This open mouthed Constable put me to a Non plus, I would faine have replied, but I wist not what, and for want of better matter, I came a little over him with Blurt Maister Constable.

I durst not stand upon stee principles, what observation hath beene made by our ancestors, in the choyce of souldiers, what regard was had to the abilitie of his bodie, to the humilitie of his minde, to the place of his birth, and to what trade he had bene trained up in: these matters I perceive by the Constable, are not now in request: for in these dayes souldiers were chosen for their vertue, but now for their vice: in that choyce there was comfort, but in this there is neither honour, profit, safetie, nor hope of good successe.

Skill, Unhappy may thole wars be called where men are but set as it were to slaughter, to work in miserie, to furnish, to impoverish, to enslave, & every way wised & discouraged: for this usage, & these services, rogues, runagats & pelats are fittest men

men to be sent: but where Princes do meane to haue their honours maintained, their Countrey defended, or their estates and persons secured, they must looke to another choyce, for in the choyce of the Souldier, consisteth the strength of the warre: and who is moze fit to fight for his Countrey, then the man of most approued honesty, that hath care of his reputation, and is ashamed of villany?

But what successe may be hoped for by those warres that are supplied by men altogether Irreligious, prophane, wicked, vngenerous, such as God hath not promised to blesse, but hath denounced against them his malediction and curse? What neglecting times, that cannot looke into this apparant ill, and cannot discern alose hand of the inconuenience that may succede.

What first presse Rogues, Drunkards, and such other ill disposed persons, which being once pressed, must be kept with continuall guard, perhaps in Bridewell, or other like places, for running away: What a heauy burthen then to the Commonwealth to Armes and appoint them fit for the field? they bring deliuered to their Captaines & Conductors, they are transported to the place of Rendezvous, with as good a will, as a Beare is brought to the stake, and the time that they should spend in the practise of their weapons, they practise nothing but how to run away: so that before one moneth be fully ended, he that can shewe fittie for his hundred, is worthy to passe the Muster for an able company.

How Generals and great Commanders were by these means abused by their Muster Rogues, where they might finde for every thousand men, at the least two thousand names: the Commissaries, and other Officers of the Musters, (that were not corrupted by the scraping Captaine) can well enough report: But how Princes and estates were deceived of their pay, I may slightly passe, because (as it should appeare) the matter was but slenderly regarded: and how the Commonwealth likewise was continually charged with the leuying of supplies, that ran away againe as fast as they were sent: the matter deserveth no great consideration, when both

cities and countreis did pay so dearely for it: as they deserved no better, that would make no better choyce.

Thus through the simplicitie of a Constable, the Princes service was abused, the manners and Disciplines of the auncient Militia corrupted, and the name and estimation of the noble Souldier utterly despised.

But here is the maine mischief, if necessitie should inforce to fight, what hope to confirme those fellows with a settled resolution, to encounter a warlike enemy, when they are so ready to runne away, before ever they durst to look for in the face?

Will you perswade them to fight for the honour of their Countrey: why they never know what honestie ment: what then, to defend their lands and livings, why they have nothing to lose, and lesse to care for: will you presse them with shame for being reputed Cowards: but they will never blush, that are not onely past shame, but also past grace: why then what laue to enioyne them, what loue to induce them, or what gods to reuenge them?

I will leave the rest to those that are (indeede) inductions and able to discern: but soasmuch as the souldier is the arme and strength of the warre, it shal not be altogether inconvenient, briefly to touch and slippe over what consideration former times have had in their election and choyce.

The holie Scriptures themselves doth furnish vs with manie examples tending to this purpose, as when the whole Hoste of the childezen of Israel were bitterly dismayed, for the multitude of their enemies, the Lord commanded Gedeon, to muster such to encounter them, as were most faithful, & doubted nothing of his promises made vnto them, which were but three hundred in number, and were chosen by the lapping of water.

And who is so sillie as not to think, but that the antiquitie of Spencers, is no lesse auncient then the antiquitie of Warres, neither hath their bene any error more severely punished, then those abuses in the Training and Spencering of Souldiers.

This chopping and changing is but a late practise, and the Spencers in times past, were evermore taken in the presence of men of iudgement, gravitie and wit: and amongst the Romanes, they were committed to prison, their goods confiscate and solde, that would not personallie appeare and answer to their names at any time of Musters when they were called: and to conclude, I thinke he doth but ill deserve to enjoy any benefit in his country, that wil refuse to fight for the libertie and safetie of his countrie.

Pill. I may say Amen: but he that should preach this doctrine, perhaps might offend the better sort of his parishoners: but now I perceine they be not all Souldiers that runs by and doleth the country a begging under Souldiers Passports, but according to the proverbe, Cattel after kind: so these I perceine wil follow their former function, first from a Rogue to a Soldier, and from a Soldier again to a Rogue, it must needs be a well sojmed Camp that is framed of such stuffe.

I wonder now what Discipline might be prescribed to containe these fellows in order in the time of Warre, that could never be brought to observe order nor honestie in the time of Peace: yet there is nothing more necessarie then order, especially in Warre, without the which all runs to confusion: but for my selfe, I think I were best to speake of order, as he that came from Church, who could say, There was a verie good sermon: and yet could neither remember the text, nor any other word that the Preacher had spoken: so say I, order is good, (if it be decent:) but many doth vse it, as they doe vse the new fashion, that doe never thinke themselves to be in fashion, till they be quite out of all fashion.

Skill. The auncient orders and maners left unto vs by the great Captaines of former ages are omitted, sometimes by corruptions, sometimes by necessitie, and many times innotated by Captaines, who to shewe themselves as wise as womens Taylors, can devise everie day a new fashion.

This order that we speake of, is to be observed in the field, in the Towne, in the Camps, in marching, in fighting, in charging, in retreating.

In like manner, whether to offend or defend, there is nothing of more importance then order, when by the neglect thereof, great and mightie armies haue perished.

In the beginning, before they knew any manner of forme, or order of aray, the victorie was euermore carried away by the stronger part: but sithens they haue learned to order themselves into Rankes, and to fight in good aray, the conquest now is not so proper to the strength of men, as it is to this experimented order: neither is there any multitude (being once broken and disordered) that are able to abide a farre inferior number, that shal assault them with order and skill.

This order therefore is to be obserued, first in distributing their whole forces into Companies, into Regiments; into Squadrons: and it is a pleasing thing, because an Armie consisting of many partes, may with the more ease be diuided and martialled fit for service, as occasion and needs shall require.

Doubted alwaies, if the order that is to be obserued in fight, hath euermore relation to the weapons then in vse, for the alteration of weapons, both necessarily enforce the alteration of order.

Pill. What must needs stand with reason: but yet there be some not knowing this, that will figure forth such formes of Battells, as (I think) were vsed in Alexanders time, and were fitter for the encounters of that age, then for the service of the time present, & this antiquitie they inferre as a matter of great importance whereby to prouide the: but hereby they doe so much the more bewray their ignorance, for those orders then in vse, would be altogether out of season, or to verie little purpose.

But there is a second Paradox which is now lately crept out of a budget, that doth all to be pepper this opinion, and will in no wise endure that the alteration of weapon should likewise enforce the alteration of order, and hath inferred no less then 30. imputations verie wisely objected against the moderne Captaines of this age as he calleth them, for digressing from the disciplines and orders vsed by the auncient Captaines (I think he meanes in the time of King Arthur) amongst the Greekes and Romanes.

Skil. Captaine Pill, I know not out of what books those imputations were first of all, & can tell you what spleen & collection were

gathered, neither am I ignorant what it was that made the Authoꝝ to conceale his Paradoxes, and would not suffer them to be published in print so long as he lived, and now he is deceased, it were no humanitie to censure with men that are in their graves: he is dead, and therefore let him rest, and God send vs that be living a little more wit, then to believe al which that second Paradox would seeme to intimate.

But as from the beginning, the hatred and malice of men one towards another hath continually increased, so with this rage and furie, they have not failed from time to time, to practise new inventions whereby to kill and murder, and to this purpose they have still devised weapons, such as one of more advantage then other.

At the first before weapons were knowne, they avenged themselves with tooth and nail, after they began to fight with staves and clubbes, then they found out the forging both of weapons and armours, and from age to age, new inventions of swords, javelins, bills, pikes, and other manual weapons were found out and practised by many men at several times, entertaining still those weapons in use, which they found to be of greatest force and most advantage.

Thus by percermeals they likewise invented sundrie parcels of armour, wherewith they armed men: then they set to arming of Chariots, Elephants: And Horses were likewise armed and habited till within these few yeares.

Continuance of time brought in Long bowes, Cross-bowes, Slings, Brakes, Darts, and such other like, and now of late we have changed them all for the Caliver and Musket.

Those for mes and proportions that were used when they had no other encounters but with manuell and shot weapons (and that the hope of victorie consisted in the vigour and strength of mens armies, and in his skill that could bring most handes to fight) would be now to little purpose, when the mightiest troops and squadrons may be so d scorned with the furie of shotte, that they shall never be able to strike one stroke.

We have therefore left those for mes & battels that were then used, and have retained an order perfected by time, and betwixt by Experience.

For our ancient English weapon the Long-bow, I am sure there be many that would gladly maintaine the excellency of them: but so far as in the first discourse betwene vs, we haue sufficiently delated of their greatest effects, we may therefore let the passe, yet for my part I could wish they were but half so effectual as some ignorant men would willingly perswade.

Pill. I think there is nothing wherein Fortune is more variable then in the actions of Warre, for as there is no settled forme of Discipline which is not chopped & changed in euery age, so in field encounters, there is no hope nor certaintie, which is not quashed againe in euery moment: and therefore Princes doe in nothing more deceiue themselves, then when they doe refuse a reasonable composition when it is offered, and relye in the hope and hazarde of a Battell.

Skill. It were good that Princes (with iustice and equitie) could keepe their owne, rather then by tyrannie to inroaich of others: but in the time of Warre to neglect the prosecution of service by Parlies, by taking of Truces, and delaying of time, it is cloaked vnder the plausible pretence of Pollicie, which they call the winning of time, when in truth they do lose both time and opportunitie.

And who be these Politicians that both perswade it, but Ignorance, Fearefulness, Couetousnes, and many times it is induced by Treason it selfe.

Vnder the colour of treatie of Peace, many practices of hostilitie hath bene perfoyned: and what greater error may be committed, then to suffer an enemy to buse his owne advantage but with a few flattering wordes, and then to laugh vs to scorne for our follie.

This olde Canticle, *Da pacem in diebus nostris*, hath sometimes bene too much imbraced, and the bare motion and sound of Peace, is so swete and pleasing to the feareful and faint hearted, that to patch and piece it vp, they neglect and set aside all occasions, giuing an enemy those advantages, that many times are not to be redeemed.

And what conditions so dishonorable and base, but the



conscious minded man (for sparing of money) will surrender unto, and all to conclude a Peace more doubtful and dangerous then the bloodiest Warre.

I will not say but in the time of Parlies, perswasion may doe much, but it is best then to perswade, when there is force to command: for in the time of Parlies and Treaties of peace, the Conquerour and he that is of greatest power, both rather give then receive conditions.

I acknowledge, assured peace, is evermore to be embraced: but these coloured treaties and bad assurances, are both dangerous and unprofitable, and Princes haue incurred by them great losse, both of time and experience.

This dallying out the time of service with belinding Parlies, hath bene holden by timorous people to be verie politique, but if Miserie be reputed for Politie, and sparing out of season be called good husbandrie, I say still they are ill spared pence, that both afterwarde cost a great many of poundes.

I must not speake of the delaies of our times, but if it be true, that the wit is best that is dearest paid for, we might in this age bee wise and warie both, and learne to looke better to the market, least after this, we buye our owne follie at as deare a rate, as we haue alreadye purchased wit.

Pill. I know not how to value wit, nor what price it hath bene in times past: but if it hath bene so dearely bought, we thinke they should haue done well to haue spared some parte of the charge to haue paid more Souldiers, that (God knowes) haue manie times wanted both paie and meanes whereby to maintaine themselves in anye able sort to serue.

Skill. As the Warres cannot bee performed without Souldiers, so Souldiers cannot bee contained without pay: for where there is want of pay, there must needs be but a scrambling warre, manie disorders committed, and as many opportunities pretermitted.

Pill. For want of pay, the Souldier cannot bee kept from



from scraping, as well from friends as foes: it likewise breedeth mutinies and all manner of disorders, and souldiers unpaid, will make but a slow march, maintaine but a faint fight, and it makes them so weak of bodie, and feeble of courage, that one thousand of souldiers that were duly paid, and well provided for, would be more profitable in the day of battell, then five thousand of such steruelings that are almost famished afoze hand, and so want of necessaries, are brought so lowe, that they are neither able to endure fight, nor yet able to runne away.

**Skill.** The want of money in the time of Warre, breedeth in a Generall disgrace, in a souldier contempt, in the enemy occasion of treason, in the confederate, a will to revolt.

The Romans (amongst others) maintained their Monarchies by these meanes, they inducured nothing more, then to reward good desert: nor sought any thing lesse, then to defraude their souldiers of their pay: in peace they provided them priuiledges, at home they allowed them colonies to dwell in; and in the waine of the Empire, so carefull were Monarches to requite them, that their elections did hang in their choice, and their fortunes, on their swords: that as one studied to be liberall, so the other strove to be loyal.

**Pill.** To maintaine this pay, your opinion is (as I perceiue by your former speeches) that we haue not so much neede of money, as we haue of good orders, to set them first set downe, and then well executed.

**Skill.** I say so still: and I adde thus much farther, that if in times past, the corruptions of all sorts of officers had bene examined in time, great summes of money might haue bene spared to pay souldiers, that was worse employed, and more vnprofitably spent.

**Pill.** I know not in this case what I should iudge: but so; these thirty or forty yeares I haue bene a little acquainted with the warres of severall Countries, and I neuer knew but in every place they still complained for want of pay: but to say the truth, our English nation, more then  
all.

all the rest haue euer found themselves most agréed, as well against the pinching & prouoking of Captaines, as against the cheating and shifting of officers : but is it not possible for Princes and Estates to finde a remedie for these inconueniencies?

Skill. Not possible, so long as there is buying and selling of companies, nor so long as offices are to be bought and sold for money.

I dare not take vpon me to aduise Princes to whom they should trust in these causes, but with reuerence and vnder correction, I wil say a little to whom they should not trust, and of whom they ought to beware.

When first let them take heede to the Irreligious, & againe, of him that is couetous : but if they doe with good success to their owne affaires, let them beware how they trust him that wil buy his office, and wil giue money to attaine his place.

I protest I haue not spoken any thing particularly, where by to detect or impeach any person in priuate, but onely in commiseration of the poore souldiers, who by these disorders haue bene miserable wronged.

And as the pay that hath bene thus spent, might haue bene a great deale better spared: so there is nothing more hurtful to the proceedings of Warre, then so much miserie and pinching, where the spending of money (and but in necessary sort) shall be more respected, then either the losse of honour, or the hazard of a Kingdome.

Pill. And it might be feared to be but a third bare War, where besides an ordinarie pay, there is not likewise an extraordinary recompence, whereby to gratifie desert.

Skill. Where well doing is not regarded, there dutie is many times neglected: and although the law doe enforce some, and necessitie prick forwarde others to the seruice of their countrie, yet Rewarde and Recompence are more effectuall to induce a noble courage, then any other meane: for men hardly entertaine hazard where there is no hope, and great mindes that wil aspire to great adventures, must be recompenced with great rewards.

But would you haue examples, how good desert hath bene aduanced? looke into the holy scriptures, see the noble Caleb promised his reward by Gods owne mouth. so; his great courage and constancie amongst the childezen of Israel, and Caleb himselfe bestowed his faire daughter Achsah vpon Othniell his brothers sonne, so; taking the Citie Cariath.

Dauid in like maner receiued great riches of Saul, so; killing Goliath: but the Romanes amongst the rest, to stirre by mens mindes to martiall prowes, besides bountifull and liberall rewardes, they inuented glorioius triumphes, whereby he that deserued fame, might so; ever after be eternized.

In those daies honours and the highest places were rewards so; valiant men, and good desert was recompenced with great preferment: now there is no reward but so; villanie, so; betraying of a Towne, so; poisoning of a Prince, so; practising of treason, or so; some other like conspiracie.

Now so; him that liues within the compasse of an honest life, they think his wit wil assozbe him no better: & as there is no reward so; the couragious, so there is no punishment so; & coward.

In diebus illis, after victories obtained & troubles ouer-past, then began the Souldiers glorie, so; then good deserts were euer recompenced: so that the end of the war, was the beginning of the souldiers felicitie, but now the end of the warre is the beginning of his beggery, and an almes is the best recompence so; the best desert.

When Glorie was the reward of Vertue, men would then contend who should most excéde in Vertue, but now sithence that hope hath bene quenched, they strue who should be most insolent, so; where Glorie is taken from Vertue, there Vertue is likewise taken from men.

Pill. There is yet a comfozt left to those that haue honestlie serued the Countrie, when they may say that there best recompence is, the testimony of a good conscience, and the contentment of an honest minde.

Skill. The testimonie of a good conscience is better then a thousand witnes, and he that hath a contented minde, hath greater treasure then Fortune is able to depzine: so; what aduersitie can check him that is armed with contentment?

**Pill.** Contentment is the marke we all shewe at, but who could ever hit it: Salomon sought seriously after it, but he could not finde it: the wise men of the woꝛld, haue hunted after it in the woꝛld, and although they haue sometimes had it in chase, baiting themselves with a present satisfaction for a time, yet our affections are so variable, that moꝛe changeable then the Ayre, we erect euery day a new choyce, loathing that to moꝛrow, that we liked of to day.

**Skill.** Where then shall we seeke for that soueraigne contentment by vs so much desired: if not in this woꝛld, why then by a tract moꝛe excellent and diuine then Reason it selfe is able to reach vnto.

**Pill.** There are yet many reasons where by to maintaine that soueraignie of contentment, which to those that are earthly minded may seeme vnpleasant, but to a soule once settled in contemplation, they are the ministers of mere Diuinitie.

**Skill.** Who liueth here in that content, liues happie, for he sequesters his wandering thoughts from the vanitie of the woꝛld, and so tempers all his spirits, that he wholie resignes himselfe to meditation.

O precious freedom of the minde that thus tunes his fancies on the Lydian Harpe! he may with Theseus take hold on the Clue, that leadeth from the Labyrinth of woꝛldly vanities; for he so frees himselfe from the freakes of fortune, that as the seaman with his Jacobs Staffe, doth count the ascending and descending of the Sunne so he beholds at the choaking chances of the ambitious woꝛld, sometimes climbing vp, againe declining downe.

If this meanes will not serue to mount, so he cannot lightly fall, for flatteries canot blast him with his breath, noꝛ Aspikes Ennie stings him not aslaie: here the Traitors armed hand affrightes him not, noꝛ Sinon Augered teares are able to deuine: but Magnitude with a perfect courage of a constant minde attends and waites on him, and thus retiree from all his woꝛldly cares, he reapes the fruite of swete and quiet rest.

**Pill.** Happie he that leuels out his life by this line, for a soule thus armed with this coate-armour, is able to wade through all the streames of trouble, & fixing his anker hope in the inuio-  
late

late constancie of a minde thus settled, what can dismay or affright him?

Death it selfe is here despised, and although the berie name be hideous and terrible to soles, beating in the eares of the idle and slouthfull, yet here it cannot hurt.

But what object I Death, or why should I speake of a buriall, shall we doubt of that which is naturall, and for the which we were bozne? How vnsfortunate might he be accosted that is loath to returne to his countrie of rest.

Skill. When to winde vp our conclusion, and to make an end of our conference at this time, I will speake a litle of life and death as they should be esteemed: for if we could duly consider of the good that cometh vnto vs by death, it would appeare that the whole Tragedie of the evils of this life is there finished, and that the sting of Death, is but the beginning of life.

Pill. Your conclusion will be both apt, and to a very good purpose: but first I will conclude with many thanks for this your vnderferued courtesie: and because I will not longer interrupt you, I will now rest attentine.

Skill. Since life is the race, wherein we strive to obtaine honour, and death is the tearme whereby our honours are crowned, I will speake of life as it should be confirmed to vertue, and of death as the true gate of felicitie.

Life (saith the Philosopher) is but a borrowed dyme of pleasure, wherein we apprehend all things incertainly, by reason of the swift and irreuerable chaunges thereof.

It is a race wherein the wicked man seeketh to outthowe the good, and the good man that standeth on his sexe, will not helpe the good man that lieth on the ground.

It is a vision of delight that vanisheth in imagination, a warfare of vncertainie, and a way to death.

In life there is no distinction either of greatnes or abiectnes, for the begger in life, hath as great interest as the King.

It is only the way wherein we walk crowned with honour to our graue, or buried in infamies to seek out eternall death.

Enriched is that life, which hath but a time to live, and that in death, a life without the which death had not bene.

Wishing to expzell: how abiect a thing life is, let that saying

at Philip of Macedon serue to confirme  $\text{h}$  same, who finding a fit place to intempe in, but vnfit to allowe his beasts of burthen any soter: How miserable (saith he) is our life, who are inforced to bestow the best opportunities of the same to the seruice of Asses?

It is like a Pageant or Stage, whereon all sortes thew theiuelnes, that chalengeth nothing frō eternitie, but the fruits of good imploiments. The hazard of life is determined by  $\text{h}$  iustice of  $\text{h}$  cause, & it is neuer more happy, the whē lost worthily.

The shortnesse thereof is redeemed by the vse, for Life well imployed is a preuention of Death.

As for Death, what is it but a blessed necessitie to the good man, and a fearefull enemie to the euill?

There is nothing more certaine to flesh & blood, the Death, & nothing more fearful to soles, then to thinke they must die, when it is but a passage to a better life: And how happy is that death, which leadeth to that life, which is not subiect to death?

It is a separation from an vncertaine to an assured estate, a retreat wherein Honour lieth, and obscuritie sleepeth: A Harbinger, assigning rest without payment, A Gate, to that felicitie the soule longeth for.

For which cause Aeschilus calleth it the remedy of worldly sorrow, wherein we escape that which life feared, and winne that, which a quickning saith hopeth for.

Since therefore, Life is but a sum of money put out to vse, and our iudgements and honours are assigned vs, as we imploy the same, & death is but the fire to try our deserts, whether they were boyn to obscuritie, or reserved for eternitie, let Souldiers lue so, as when the casualties of warre shall allot them death, they may be held good stewards of this bestrusted and vncertain treasure, that like good children being nourished in all dutie, by their mother the Common-wealth, they may dye with constancy in the defence thereof: that as earli the Spartan womē, so their mothers may say in their deaths, We bare them for their country, and we haue happily lost them for their country. Or rather thus with Critias, He rather pleaseth me more that he died a death, both worthy his friends and country, the that he should haue liued a life vnworthy both his friends and country.

